The First Hall of Fame

A STUDY OF THE STATUES IN THE *FORUM AUGUSTUM*

JOSEPH GEIGER

BRILL

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The First Hall of Fame

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A Study of the Statues in the *Forum Augustum*

By

Joseph Geiger

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On the cover: The remains of the north-western exedra. Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome.

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PREFACE

The casual visitor at the Hall of Fame for Great Americans, on grounds that are now part of Bronx Community College, will find a rather neglected colonnade housing a hundred or so bronze busts bearing the names of those entitled to bear that proud designation. Conceived by Dr Henry Mitchell MacCracken, Chancellor of New York University (University Heights was then the campus of NYU) from 1891 to 1910, and dedicated in 1901, its strict constitution, true to the style of the Founding Fathers, lays down the different categories and walks of life from which the Great Americans are to be chosen—authors, educators, architects, inventors, military leaders, judges, theologians, philanthropists, humanitarians, scientists, statesmen, artists, musicians, actors and explorers—together with the exact manner of their selection. Other countries created their own commemorations of their distinguished dead according to their own traditions and national character—without necessarily going to such lengths as a Motorsports Hall of Fame of America (Novi, Michigan)—so that the very idea seems hardly to be questioned nowadays. All the more is it of some importance to enquire how the very first compilation of this kind, the gallery of statues in the new Forum built by Augustus over 2,000 years ago, came into being. Though he did not outright monopolise commemoration, the Princeps nationalised it.

The conception and preparation of this book was far longer than may be justified by its length. My earlier work—to which I admit I refer not sparingly—bears witness to the long interest and also to the crystallisation of the ideas presented here. I was daring enough to add to the already vast number of books published on the age of Augustus in the belief that the questions discussed here are devoid neither of novelty nor of significance.

During that long time I incurred a very great number of debts. I must admit shamefacedly that most of these I cannot mention: in a lifetime of scholarship and endless encounters with teachers, colleagues and pupils I find it impossible to trace every idea, formulation or reference to its source. I can only sincerely hope that I have not committed serious injuries. Luckily, some debts are so great and so recent that it is impossible not to recall them constantly. Despite many obligations

Jaś Elsner, Debby Gera and Israel Shatzman took the trouble to read versions of the entire manuscript, gave valuable advice and saved me from many mistakes and infelicities; the remaining will be ascribed to my stubbornness. Werner Eck, Judit Gärtner and Alex Yakobson helped me with particular points that are acknowledged in their due place. Sabine Panzram let me see the relevant sections of her dissertation and later very kindly sent me the book resulting from it. Daniela Dueck gave invaluable help with the illustrations, including the drawing of the crucial reconstruction of the *Forum Augustum* resulting from the latest excavations (fig. 5). She, Ra'anana Meridor and Nurit Shoval helped me with the proofs. My most heartfelt thanks to them all.

My thanks are also due to Brill for accepting my manuscript for publication; to their anonymous reader for good advice and encouragement; to Gera van Bedaf, Caroline van Erp and Irene van Rossum for seeing it through the press; and, last but not least, to Iveta Adams for her meticulous copy-editing.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations follow, with very slight variations, the conventions of Lewis and Short, Liddell–Scott–Jones and the *OCD*[3]. Add also the following:

DNP	*Der Neue Pauly*
Enc.Jud.	*Encyclopaedia Judaica*
GRL	M. Schanz and C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (3rd edn), Munich 1907–
Inschr. v. Ol.	*Inschriften von Olympia*
LTUR	*Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*
RCC	M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Augustan Rome is far from being a neglected subject in modern scholarship, nor has the building program of Augustus, of which his Forum was the last major and as it were crowning venture, failed to attract the attention of scholars. Although the Forum has always been valued as a typical expression of the Augustan age, certain aspects of the originality of this undertaking as well as of its impact and later influence have not been accorded due consideration. Only the evaluation of the innovations of the Forum as well as the setting of the project in a clear relationship to its predecessors and to its later connexions, generic or genetic, will enable us fully to appreciate its importance. However, the present study does not aim at an exhaustive investigation of all the features of that venture. One of the main components of the Princeps' arrangement was the erection in the exedrae and porticoes of his Forum of a series of statues of the ancestors of the Julian House on the one side and of the *summi viri* of the Roman Republic on the other.[1] It will be shown that not only have certain far from negligible aspects of this Gallery of Heroes gone unnoticed but also its historical connexions have not been duly appreciated. Moreover, the inventiveness of the concept is not a passing curiosity, nor, as has often been asserted, is it only an illustration of the ideology of the new regime, but it is also an important manifestation of a changing attitude to the personality and its artistic impact. This attitude found its expression above all in the increased biographical interest in literature. Furthermore, the later influence of the assembly of heroes has been almost totally neglected, with only some rather patchy, and at times less than reliable, examination of its later fortunes in the Roman Empire. Whilst many modern works refer to Augustus' collection of statues as a Hall of Fame it seems that no serious attention has been paid to modern and present-day descendants and parallels. Although no exhaustive examination of the idea of Halls of Fame in Western civilisation will be attempted here, it is nevertheless important to emphasise that the Forum of Augustus is so to speak

[1] Ov. *f.* 5.563–6; Suet. *Aug.* 31.5; *SHA Alex.* 28.6.

the mainspring of these later manifestations of the model. It is not an exaggeration to say that Augustus' Gallery of Heroes can be seen, in fact, as the ultimate source of a most basic concept of our civilisation. Indeed, it may well be exactly because the idea of a selection of heroes or role models is so deeply engrained in our civilisation and so much taken for granted that I could not find a single work entirely devoted to this concept.

Though inevitably some overall view of the entire project is indicated,[2] it is one particular aspect of the Forum that will be at the focus of this investigation. Augustus' choice of heroes is a far more momentous issue than seems to have been hitherto made apparent. An earlier formulation of the point may be repeated:

> The concept of Halls of Fame—that is, of a gallery of heroes, the best and the worthiest of their kind—is so familiar to us and apparently so much taken for granted that the question of its origins is rarely, if ever, asked. Not only such national monuments as the Pantheon in Paris, Westminster Abbey, or the Walhalla of King Ludwig of Bavaria, but series of postage stamps, portraits on banknotes or decisions concerning street-names all resound of the apparently universally accepted idea, that not only should the great and the good be commemorated, but that there exist exact criteria that enable us to discover who these great and good are. Indeed, some institutions have developed precise rules for the establishment of those worthy of inclusion, from the procedures of canonisation in the Catholic Church to the rules governing the addition to the various and variegated Halls of Fame in the United States, ranging from the Hall of Fame of Tennis in Newport to the Cowboy Hall of Fame in Oklahoma City, and the Jazz Hall of Fame in New Orleans. Needless to say, the men—and women—one chooses to portray on banknotes or name streets after, or, indeed, bury in places of national commemoration, bear witness to the values and ideals of their communities.[3]

In the following it will be argued that Augustus' choice of the heroes of the Republic to be commemorated by statues and by appropriate accompanying inscriptions is the first example, indeed the prototype, of the above-mentioned widespread phenomenon, as it seems universal in Western civilisation and of considerable impact on our everyday surroundings. The extent to which we can detect a direct influence of the Augustan venture rather than only a generic resemblance is a big

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[2] The latest and by far most exhaustive investigation of the *Forum Augustum* is Spannagel 1999.

[3] Geiger 2003, 353.

question, for which at best only some partial answers can be provided. Though I have suggested in one or two instances,[4] *exempli gratia*, that such influence may be discerned, and other comparable examples could be added without great difficulty, even a detailed survey of European history would not necessarily provide a satisfactory and wide-ranging solution. Nevertheless, even without being able to sketch the outlines of the complete history of Halls of Fame, it seems to me that appreciating the Augustan innovation will add considerably to our understanding not only of Roman history, but also of the Roman roots of our own civilisation.

Innovation is one thing, impact and importance quite another. The Age of Augustus was not short of innovations, some of them far-reaching and momentous, others of only temporary significance. The successful reception of a new idea is often best seen in its apparent conventionality and banality. Augustus' Hall of Fame may strike us merely as an expected component of a renovated and well-planned capital and a well-organised and centrally governed state. Under whatever political system we live, we accept as self-evident the fact that the powers that be make decisions concerning lists of persons eligible for a variety of honours, from minor ones up to the inclusion in an acknowledged national Pantheon. The rather minor fracas some years ago concerning the committal of the remains of Alexandre Dumas in the Pantheon in Paris only testifies to the political system of the Fifth Republic; both supporters and opponents of the decision accepted the importance and finality of such a move—the latter perhaps even more so than the former.

Although there is no shortage of studies laying an emphasis on various aspects of the innovations of the Augustan age, it seems to me that not even the most detailed investigations of the Forum of Augustus have appreciated the truly momentous nature of its originality or the central position it came to occupy in the Augustan scheme of things. A variety of indications point to the care and importance accorded to the project by the Princeps himself. Moreover, whatever precedents there were in Greece and Rome for awarding persons who had distinguished themselves with statues in public places, all these fell short of the programme of Augustus in some of the most significant details. Next, a detailed investigation of the persons we know, or can reasonably infer,

[4] Geiger 2003; Geiger 2005.

to have been awarded statues should grant us some insight into the way decisions were made in Augustus' inner circle. Probably the most neglected aspect of the *Forum Augustum* is the impact it had on later generations: both a list of those men who are known to have been awarded according to his wish bronze statues in the hundred years or so following his death will be compiled, and some influences of the Gallery of Heroes on literary works of the Empire will be traced. Not least, it will be shown that the influence of Augustus' Hall of Fame on an Empire-wide public of assorted social standing can clearly be discerned.

The separate treatment of one particular component of the Forum of Augustus is not meant as a criticism of wider views. On the contrary, only the broad-spectrum appreciation of the Forum as a whole enables us to proceed and give due weight to its component parts. But the whole consists of its parts. While some viewers would devote the time necessary to grasp the project in its entirety—and it has been shown that some of the more impressive symmetrical features of the plan were constructed in such a manner that they could only be seen on a thorough inspection[5]—it is likely that, as always, most people would see and appreciate the parts for themselves. Though it is notoriously difficult to appraise influences and impressions in Antiquity, various features of the *Forum Augustum* have been so widely imitated that one may well speak of their Empire-wide diffusion.

Even specific studies dedicated to the pictorial aspect of the Forum such as Zanker's *Bildprogramm* (made available to a broader public, especially also in the English version of a comprehensive and greatly appreciated study)[6] took a broader view and gave an overall appraisal of the entire project. Important studies have been devoted to other parts of the Forum, above all the imposing Temple of Mars Ultor, architecturally and visually dominating the entire project,[7] and it would be extremely helpful if more could be said about the *quadriga* devoted to the Father of his Country[8] in the centre of the piazza, for surely at least from the ideological point of view this was the crowning glory of the entire undertaking.

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[5] Blanckenhagen 1954.

[6] Zanker 1968; Zanker 1990.

[7] For appreciations see Kockel 1983; Ganzert, Kockel et al. 1988; Siebler 1988 and conclusively Ganzert 1996.

[8] *RG* 35.1.

Our information concerning the rows of statues in the *Forum Augustum* consists of three disparate sorts of evidence. First and foremost, ancient literary sources contain both general statements about these statues and the circumstances of their arrangement, and also a few particular references to individual statues. The general statements serve as a guide without which we would be at a loss to evaluate the other kinds of evidence. Precisely because of the great importance of the two other kinds of sources, to which due weight will be given in the following discussion, it should be emphasised that without the literary references we would never be able properly to understand and appraise the rest of our information. Unfortunately, our access to ancient writings being what it is, nothing short of a miracle could add to the literary sources. Second, epigraphic evidence from the Forum and from other sites imitating it or influenced by it provides valuable information as to the nature and contents of the inscriptions that accompanied the statues. It is from these inscriptions that most of the names of the people known to us to have been honoured in the Forum—still only a minority of those originally selected—can be obtained. The inscriptional material also furnishes us with the means to detect the reasons for the inclusion of some of the persons in the Gallery of Heroes and allows some conclusions as to the criteria employed in their choice. The epigraphic evidence from Rome has been recently collected and re-edited in exemplary manner and emerges now in a considerably enlarged form.[9] Third, the archaeological excavations of the *Forum Augustum* in the more general framework of the Imperial fora, and, again, of some other sites imitating it or influenced by it, present us with valuable insights not only in recovering some—alas pitiable—remains of the statues themselves, but above all in providing us with some idea as to the overall arrangement of the entire project. The archaeological evidence includes not only the remains of the statues but also, perhaps even more importantly, the architecture of the Forum, that is the framework of the porticoes with semi-circular exedrae where the statues were situated. Again, recent excavations have added invaluable, and in my view hitherto incorrectly interpreted, evidence to our knowledge, and I believe that it can be shown that they have now furnished some weighty corroboration of views that otherwise would have been presented with

[9] *CIL* VI.8.3.

somewhat less confidence. It will be seen that this arrangement enables some valuable insights into the choice of the heroes and their display in the Forum. While many innovations in Augustus' accomplishment have been sufficiently appreciated, the most innovative, and in the event most important and by far most influential, part of that achievement has not been completely seen for what it was. Thus, at the same time as a full discussion of the layout, significance and aims of Augustus' Gallery of Heroes, the ideas that brought about these two aspects—innovation and impact—should be given some consideration.

However, and despite its great worth, it is not the additional new evidence that renders it desirable to devote another discussion to a subject that has been far from neglected in modern scholarship. I am convinced that not only have certain important facets of interpreting the evidence escaped earlier scholars but also some of the far-reaching cultural implications of the *Forum Augustum* have not been accorded suitable appreciation.

Augustus' assembly of the statues of the *summi viri* in his Forum not only was an absolute first of its kind, but also its impact was so great that today it is easy for us to fail to see its innovative, nay revolutionary, character. What was so ground-breaking in a group of statues, accompanied by inscriptions, of military and political leaders assembled in one place? Honorific statues of heroes such as the *tyrannoktonoi* and political and military leaders such as Themistocles, Miltiades and Pericles had been set up in Greece since the Classical Age, if only rarely.[10] Such statues had been for a long time commonplace at Rome,[11] and in fact almost unimaginably for us large numbers of statues of Republican leaders continued to adorn various public places in the city even after Augustus' Forum had been built and opened to the public. As a rule these statues were accompanied by inscriptions, some detailing particular feats, others reviewing the careers of the persons so honoured. Galleries of statues and of busts had been an established feature in the Greek world and had made their way to Italy some time before the birth of the Princeps. It would seem, then, that Augustus but followed a well-established tradition. However, even if the component parts of his Gallery had long and well-known traditions to rest upon, the very assemblage and forging of these parts into a new entity constituted

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[10] See below, ch. 2.
[11] See below, ch. 3.

something totally new and unheard of, not least because of the precise circumstances of the project and the unique standing of its initiator.

The novelty of Augustus' undertaking consisted in the grouping of a number of factors, which only in their collective appearance in a well-thought out programme amounted to a novelty. Essentially three main factors have to be considered, though of course later we shall have the opportunity to reflect on other novel points connected with the inscriptions. First, the persons depicted in the statues were all from the political-military sphere, in fact [*duces*] *qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent*.[12] Second, a group was conceived, closed in relation to the past and open-ended in relation to the future: it had been decided once and for all who these *summi viri* were, no addition of past heroes was permitted and clear directives were given to the Princeps' heirs concerning the inclusion of those who were to prove themselves worthy in the future.[13] It was the third feature of the programme that gave the entire undertaking its novel character and was innovative due to the unprecedented status of its originator. Some former collections of statues had either formal unexceptionably objective criteria for inclusion, such as Olympic victors, or else depended on the preferences and taste of a single person or group, such as a family. In the latter case, whatever the status of that person or family, the impact could only be limited. Private collections, such as those of the *imagines* of the families of the nobility, may have impressed the crowds in their funeral processions[14] but were clearly conceived as expressions of the status of these families in the state rather than of the state itself. But Augustus was the State. Even in his own account of his achievements he acknowledges that much for the time up to 28–27 BCE.[15] In fact, as we all know, the state remained, though under somewhat different signs, firmly in his hands for over forty more years. The choices of one person—and we shall later discuss the possible assistance he may have had in his plan—became the official list of the state and the nation. No alternatives were allowed or would have been practicable. Moreover, like in the *Soviet Encyclopedia*, exclusion had even more far-reaching consequences

[12] Suet. *Aug.* 31.5.

[13] Ibid.: *commentum id se, ut ad illorum* <...> *velut ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatium principes exigerentur a civibus.*

[14] Plb. 6.53.4–10.

[15] *RG* 34.1: *In consulatu sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum potens rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli.*

than inclusion. If non-inclusion in Anthologies, or Selected Works, often passes a death-sentence (even if unintentional) over works of literature, non-inclusion in a normative list of persons often amounts to almost instant oblivion. Even traditions sanctified by the *mos maiorum* had to give way. When Iunia died in 22 CE, the *imagines* of Cassius and Brutus shone by their absence at her burial:[16] we may safely predict that, had they been included among the heroes of the Republic rallied in the Forum (which obviously they were not), they would have been carried proudly in that old lady's funeral procession.

We shall have opportunity later to discuss the aims and the impact of Augustus' gallery, but a word has to be said at the outset. The *Forum Augustum* was so called because it had been built by the generosity of the Princeps for the needs of the Roman People: it belonged to them, it was there for their use and their edification, for the conduct of their affairs and for the improvement of their quality of life. This is true of the Forum as well as of its component parts. The Gallery of Heroes was chosen by Augustus, with whatever advice he may have received from his friends, and erected by him out of his own munificence in his Forum. But he gave his Forum to the Roman People, and it was now theirs. So was the Republican Hall of Fame. Chosen, designed and executed by the Princeps, it was now the Roman People's, as were its heroes, its *summi viri*, chosen for them albeit not chosen by them. Indeed, seen in this light, the choice of the heroes of the Republic differed little from other things chosen for the People, such as the very constitution of the State, chosen by him who best knew the needs of the People and who cared for them most. *Panem et circenses*—coined by a later poet,[17] but readily applied, and applicable to, the Principate from its inception—was not the whole story. It is not true that the intellectual diet of the Roman People consisted only of the bloody exploits of gladiators and wild beast hunts. They were fed also a far more ambitious diet, only too rarely noticed by modern students of Rome. It is true, ancient literature, by and large, was written by the upper classes, about the upper classes and for the upper classes. But for those who did not read Virgil, Horace and Livy there were the Stones of Rome.[18] Thus perhaps the most important aspect of Augustus' project emerges. The

[16] Tac. *a.* 3.76 fin.

[17] Juv. 10.81.

[18] An aspect of the culture of the Roman plebs dealt with only cursorily by Horsfall 2003.

Gallery of Heroes stood not by itself, but was indeed a major part of a consciously formed National Programme.

One point should be given due weight. Though proper consideration will be given both to the political and military character of the persons included in the catalogue and to its obligatory character, it is the combination of the two that rendered Augustus' Hall of Fame what it was. The significance of the novelty consisted in the blending of two innovations, each of them of wide-ranging consequences.

Few seem to have properly appreciated the innovative aspect of Augustus' Hall of Fame. One person who clearly perceived the novelty of this Roman project did so in an aside, admittedly a German professorial aside *ex cathedra* on a festive occasion. Discussing Virgil's *Heldenschau*, a passage not unrelated to the present enquiry,[19] the most eminent commentator of that text asserted that such an idea would have been utterly alien to the Greeks.[20] But it was not only in Greece that no conceivable political circumstances could have brought about the creation of a universally acknowledged list of national heroes. Republican Rome also, ruled by annual magistrates and a senate composed of these magistrates and ex-magistrates, acted entirely in character when it did not rule out the erection of honorific statues by private enterprise. (And it is well to remember that the procedure of political bodies in Rome being what it was, even statues voted for by senate or people were first proposed by private initiative—the *auctoritas* of its initiator greatly affecting the outcome of the proposal). In any event, the Senate and People of Rome were political bodies, not retrospectively inclined historical academies: they granted triumphs and other honours, in some cases honorific statues, for present achievements or for those lying in the immediate past, and it was not their business to sit in judgment over the more remote past and give marks to its figures. Few will have gone as far as Cato the Elder, whose insistence

[19] See below, ch. 3.

[20] The reference is to a speech by Eduard Norden in 1929 in memory of the founder of the University of Berlin, King Friedrich Wilhelm III; see Faber 1994, 201. Though the context and contents of Norden's German (and Germanic) nationalistic and imperialistic enthusiasms, even if mitigated by an equal enthusiasm for humanist ideals, would appear ironic (or ridiculous) were they not tragic in view of his later fate, there are some true insights in his comparison of Greek and Roman attitudes to national heroes. Possibly it was his political, nationalistic standpoint that brought him to accept (Norden 1976, 315–16) Vahlen's conjecture, according to which the famous lines on Fabius Cunctator in Ennius, *Annales* XI, were part of a *Heldenschau*; for the rejection of this theory see Skutsch 1985, 529–30.

on the primacy of the *Res publica* over the men who controlled it made him compose a history without mentioning the names of its leaders.[21] The more widely accepted view, *moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque*,[22] still left the estimation of these *viri* entirely to private and not binding judgment. The Republican *gentes*, competing in real strife for the far too few places in the government of the Republic,[23] were also free to enter their rival claims as to their historic greatness and achievements: there was no jury to decide between these claims. (And if the People judged the *dignitas* of the rival candidates also on the basis of the achievements of their ancestors, their judgment was good only for a year, and the contest would be renewed in the following one.) It was only the New Dispensation that created the circumstances for a generally accepted model—and there was the Princeps to grasp the opportunity.

Dealing with Antiquity, including Rome, one has to tread carefully when using even such basic concepts as nation or state so as not to trespass on the borders of anachronism. Nevertheless, if we attempt to perceive the Gallery of Heroes with the eyes of the contemporary beholder, certain features impose themselves on our imagination. The Forum and all it contained was public space, and this was not altered by the fact that it was given to the Roman People by its First Citizen and thus called after him. It was common property and so were its statues—and all they represented. If there was a National Programme it was in all probability much more accessible to most people through the Gallery of Heroes than in Virgil's *Heldenschau* or Horace's *Römeroden*. In fact the message was spread, from above by design or spontaneously from below, not only in Rome, but in the cities of Italy and the Empire, and partial imitations of the Hall of Fame were set up in the different localities. The great poets may have made public some thoughts and beliefs supported by the Princeps, but here his very ideas were given by him to the public. The Hall of Fame was not only more accessible, but most importantly thanks to its designer and builder there could have been no doubt that it was more authoritative. If there was a National Programme, it was here in the Forum, which also included the temple of Mars the Avenger and the *quadriga* of the Father of his Country.

But the Forum of Augustus should not be comprehended only on its own or in the context of its later influence. It is the wider significance of

[21] Nepos, *Cato* 3.4.
[22] Enn. *ann.* 156 Skutsch.
[23] See Yakobson 1999.

the Gallery of Heroes within the complete framework of the Republic Restored we have to consider. The officially authorised powers of the Princeps have been endlessly debated but it is now widely recognised that 'the emperor "was" what the emperor did'.[24] What were the powers that enabled him to do what he wished? The monopolisation or near-monopolisation of a great number of capacities in central domains of the state made the Princeps into what he was. The proconsular *imperium* gave him in effect a monopoly over the army, the tribunician powers over legislation and elections; the *cura annonae* and the all but unlimited financial resources enabled him to be virtually the sole provider and only person responsible for the bread and the circuses of the Roman plebs; the near monopolisation of public building and the retention of the triumph for the Princeps and his family were signs for everybody to read that he alone had the reins in his hands. Another ingredient of the new regime will have to be looked at with fresh eyes. 'The Organisation of Opinion', described in masterly style in the decade of Goebbels and his ilk,[25] is not only dated, but also fails to take sufficient account of the lower classes, those not exposed to the poetry of Virgil and Horace (or those who quickly forgot their texts learned by rota in school) or to the unwieldy prose of Livy. The Forum of Augustus, probably more than any other venture of his reign, was accessible to all, almost 'democratic' in the modern sense of the word. In fact there is little room for surprise. It was the essence of the New Dispensation that Augustus monopolised (more often than not with the active collaboration of various individuals and institutions) political power, the army, public building and feeding the plebs—so why should one be surprised by the monopolisation of the newly erected *loci memoriae*?

The 'Power of Images' put to such dazzling use by Augustus[26] should be looked at in the context of his monopolies. Whatever the functions of the other public buildings, works of art and imposing displays of the new Golden Age, the Gallery of Heroes, it will be argued, had one specific aim, the monopolisation of the *loci memoriae* of the Roman people. Of course it was not the only prominent *locus memoriae*—temples, triumphs and myths immortalising the Founding Father (and, incidentally, forefather of the Julian House) fulfilled the very same function. However, the Roman heroes and that same House assembled in the

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[24] Millar 1977, xi.
[25] Syme 1939, 459–75.
[26] See Zanker 1990.

Forum of Augustus had this sole purpose of commemoration, and, moreover, they served as a summing up and schema, as it were, of all the Roman realms of memory.[27]

Moreover, the Forum provides a safer insight into the ideology of the regime than any of the other devices interpreted by Syme as tools of propaganda. Whatever their understanding of the relationships between Augustus and the poets, few will be willing to see them as copy-writers or salesmen for the regime even in the case of writers who were sincerely convinced of the excellence of their merchandise. Not so the Forum. This was an undertaking to all appearances carefully planned and slowly and meticulously executed, and most importantly an undertaking directed by the Princeps in person. Yet the Forum of Augustus did more than just monopolise the memory of the Roman People, it also provided for the future. The directives Augustus gave for the inclusion of future heroes had a double purpose. First, they were intended to ensure that even in their ideology future generations would not deviate from the *optimus status* created by the Princeps, thus anticipating the advice given to Tiberius on his accession,[28] and secondly, the cleft between the Old Republic and the Republic Restored, and thus the achievements of the Restorer, was to be made clear. In fact it will be argued that nowhere else was the division between the old state and the new made visible in such a clear fashion as here.

[27] The 'classic' study of this hugely fashionable, but important, subject is Nora 1996.
[28] Tac. *a.* 1.11.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GREEK BACKGROUND

Norden's claim for the utter Romanness of Virgil's *Heldenschau* referred to in the Introduction calls for a short survey of the likely Greek antecedents or sources of inspiration of Augustus' Hall of Fame. Since selections of the best poets, philosophers etc.—the so-called canons, to be discussed anon—are a central feature of Greek *paideia*, it was no doubt the choice of heroes exclusively from the political-military sphere that lay at the root of Norden's comment. This chapter will concern itself with a discussion of this state of affairs as a necessary preliminary to the understanding of the differences of view between Greece and Republican Rome in respect of the diverse careers of men, and to an appropriate appreciation of the innovations of the Augustan age.

Long before the Greeks settled on electing the best representatives and models in different categories of human endeavour the common urge of mankind for the compilation and classification of knowledge brought about the creation of all-inclusive lists. The formation of catalogues is indeed a basic ingredient of Greek literature from its very beginnings: who, exactly, were the leaders and kings of the Achaians who sailed to Troy, who were 'the women . . . who were the finest in those times . . . and unfastened their waistbands . . . in union with gods'?[1] And of course catalogues of a somewhat different purpose could serve practical aims—e.g. lists of the priestesses of Hera at Argos could provide a convenient framework for the chronological ordering of events.[2] But collecting the evidence for historical lists, such as lists of eponymous magistrates or Aristotle's collection of the dramatic *didaskalia*,[3] could be a goal in itself.

Not much can be gained for our purposes by cataloguing lists or discussing their peculiarities. But beside all-inclusive lists there came into being also inventories of the very best in particular fields of human

[1] See West 1985, 2. Hirschberger 2004, 51–70 puts the emphasis on genealogy rather than on the very idea of catalogue. For the development of the catalogue genre see Hunter 2005, 259–65 and Asquith 2005.

[2] Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F 74–84.

[3] Printed by V. Rose in the Berlin edition, vol. V pp. 1572–3.

endeavour, testifying perhaps to the agonistic spirit, the urge of the Greeks to define the highest attainments by means of competitions. One such collection, though otherwise given ample scholarly attention, has to my knowledge never been discussed in the present context. The statuary display of the victors in the games at Olympia seems to me instructive and offers some interesting insights into and some parallels with the much later Augustan scheme. It appears that from a very early date Olympic victors were given the right to erect their statues in the Altis, the sacred precinct of Olympian Zeus.[4] Though there exists some evidence for victor statues at the other venues of Panhellenic games, the Pythia, Isthmia and Nemea, there is no sign of either a rule similar to that of Olympia or of a general practice of setting up statues, and so these locations will be left out of consideration.[5] Obviously the implementation of the right, assuming that voluntarily forfeiting it was highly unlikely, depended on the means of the victor, and in fact in a great number of cases the expense was taken up by others, for the most part proud family members or the grateful city of the successful competitor.[6] Due both to the interest in antiquity and to modern archaeology our information concerning these statues is comparatively plentiful. Our main ancient source is Pausanias, who devotes all of eighteen chapters (6.1–18) to a *periegesis* of the Olympic victor statues, unparalleled in its detail elsewhere in his work,[7] in fact the longest part of the longest section of the Periegesis.[8] Although for reasons to become clear in the following discussion there are only pitiful remains of these statues, there are a great number of inscriptions from statue bases—Pausanias quotes or brings the essence of over 200 of these—which provide important information.[9]

For our specific purpose of comparison there are three aspects of these statues that should be considered: the rules governing the erection of the statues and their arrangement, the quality of the statues, and more

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[4] Paus. 6.1.1; Plin. *nh* 34.16; the earliest statues apparently dated back to the seventh century, see Herrmann 1988, 120. According to Pliny these were the earliest statues set up for mortals. For Pausanias see now the Lorenzo Valla edition (1999) by G. Maddoli, M. Nafissi, V. Saladino.

[5] For the evidence for statues at the other Panhellenic games see Rausa 1994, 52–66; cf. Newby 2005, 212–13.

[6] Cf. Herrmann 1988, 119–20.

[7] For this and other lists see Habicht 1985, 163 n. 82.

[8] Elsner 2001, 8–18, esp. 15–16; see also the discussion in Newby 2005, ch. 7.

[9] The evidence is collected in *Inschr. v. Ol.* 142–243. The full list of about a thousand known Olympic victors is to be found in Moretti 1957, with supplements in Moretti 1970; Moretti 1987; Moretti 1992; see also Herrmann 1988; Ebert 1997.

specifically the material from which they were made, and lastly the form and contents of the inscriptions.

(1) The seemingly somewhat contradictory accounts of Pliny and Pausanias are easily reconciled: while the rule allowed the dedication of a statue for each victory (viz., the erection of statues was granted for victories rather than to victors), for obvious reasons not all legitimate claims were translated into action. There do not seem to have existed rules concerning exactly where or how were the statues to be positioned in the Altis, and the extreme complexity of Pausanias' text does not allow for a clear scheme, though evidently with time an arrangement that was at least partially chronological must have come into being. It is also clear from Pausanias that the statues of victors were interspersed rather irregularly with dedicatory statues of other personages, from men in the intellectual sphere like Aristotle, Gorgias and the historian Anaximenes to some Spartan kings, as well as Philip and Alexander of Macedon, and later still Hellenistic rulers like Ptolemy, Seleucus, Antigonus and others.[10] All this reflected of course the basic approach of individual initiative regulated only by a rule cast in the most general terms. Nevertheless the basic scheme—viz., a specific venue dedicated to the erection of statues of men who have fulfilled a precise and exactly defined criterion, an open-ended list of men to which more worthy of the same honour were to be added—is strongly reminiscent of certain aspects of the Forum of Augustus, even without insisting on the centrality and sacredness of the venue chosen.

(2) It has been confirmed that virtually all the victor statues at Olympia were of bronze.[11] In this they followed the norm that as a rule honorary statues were made of that material,[12] as was most free-standing statuary in Classical Greece.[13] Now it will be seen that one of the rather neglected aspects of the Augustan Forum is the juxtaposition of the

[10] For the statues other than for Olympic victors see Paus. 5.25–7.

[11] Herrmann 1988, 121: 'wohl fast ausnahmslos', and see his discussion in n. 17; see also Paus. 6.18.7 with Herrmann 1988, 120 for two sixth-century wooden statues. One must naturally allow for possible rare exceptions, since we are considering a custom rather than a firm rule.

[12] On comparing bronze and marble Drexel 1921 and on the price of statues Bang 1921 seem still to have the best collection of the evidence; some additional information for classical Athens may be gleaned from the survey of payments made to sculptors in Loomis 1998, 88–96.

[13] Thus Osborne 1998, 163.

marble statues of the *summi viri* (and the Julian family) of old with the bronze ones of those who were to be added from the Augustan age onwards after receiving triumphal ornaments according to the mandate of the Princeps.[14] Expenditure could hardly have been a major consideration in such a pet project of a ruler who controlled virtually limitless funds, and anyway it appears that the cost of the two kinds of materials would be roughly equivalent.[15] Obviously the very dissimilarity of the two kinds of statues must have served the purpose of unmistakably setting off, indeed defining, the two periods of Roman history even for the least discerning. This in itself should have been sufficient. Nevertheless, one wonders whether Augustus may not have had some additional reasons for his decision. Certainly, choosing and assembling the images of the finest men Republican Rome had produced was one thing, setting them off against the finest of the new Golden Age quite another. Moreover, it will be seen that the influences on the plan of the *Forum Augustum*, and specifically on its decoration, were Greek as well as Republican: may one assume that the classicising Augustan Age hinted here at a connexion with pre-Praxitelean Greece, a revival not only of the Republic, but also a reference to the best period of Greek history, and perhaps an evocation of the series of Olympic victors for those who had been fortunate enough to have visited Olympia?[16] But possibly a much deeper Greek influence can be discerned. A comprehensive study of the remains of Republican and Augustan statuary in Asia Minor[17] shows the continuation of the traditional opposition between the εἰκὼν χαλκῆ and the ἄγαλμα μαρμάρινον. As a rule honorary

[14] For the juxtaposition of marble and bronze statues see *SHA Alex.* 28.6 and Dio 55.10.3.

[15] See Drexel 1921, and cf. the data in Bang 1921. On comparing bronze and marble statuary see also Lippold 1923, 131 and Mattusch 1996, x: 'Style, not the medium used, was the first consideration.' Duncan-Jones 1982 is of little help for our particular quest: at 78–9 he analyses the cost of statues in Africa, at 126–7 in Italy, see also tables 93–9, 162–3; note e.g. 126, where he states that workmanship constituted about 5 per cent of the cost of bronze statues and perhaps 90 per cent of marble statues, but he does not provide the prices of the different materials. I am not convinced by the assertions of Fehl 1972, 26 and Erkelenz 2003, 91 concerning the superior value of bronze.

[16] Cf. Osborne 1998, 228. Neither Augustus nor Agrippa are known to have visited Olympia, though Augustus could easily have done so while in Greece in 21 BCE, as could have Agrippa in 16 BCE, cf. Halfmann 1986, 158; 163. Epict. *Diss.* 1.6.23 rebukes those who go to Olympia to see the masterwork of Phidias; Friedlaender 1921, 461 justly observes that although the philosopher is referring to Greeks there must have been also Romans who went with such a purpose in mind.

[17] Tuchelt 1979, 68–90.

statues were of bronze, images of gods of marble. However, in purely ornamental statuary, and in copies of old masters, one could use marble even where bronze was the material of the original.[18] Thus Augustus, jealously guarding his image as preserver of old traditions while innovating whenever convenient, could presumably achieve his goal of setting off his gallery both from previous honorary statues and from those to be erected by his heirs by the simple expedient of using marble. It is difficult for the modern student, almost without exception acquainted with ancient statuary not in its original context, to visualise the impact on the contemporary Roman spectator first of the arrangement of exclusively bronze honorary statuary in Olympia, if he happened to visit the site, and later of the marble gallery of Augustus, used as he was both to the incredibly dense display of sculptures in the city and to the disorderly jumble of bronze and marble.[19]

(3) Most intriguing, and apparently totally neglected in discussions of Augustan epigraphy, is the evidence of the inscriptions. The characteristic form of the career inscriptions in the *Forum Augustum*, referring to its subject in the nominative, and the crucial impact of this form on Roman epigraphy will be the subject of a later discussion.[20] Yet it may be said now that it is quite extraordinary that the analogy of the inscriptions of Olympic victors, always in the nominative,[21] seems to have gone unnoticed. The inscriptions of the Olympic victors also included, apart from the name in nominative, the basic details of *patria*, the particular sport in which victory had been won, and sometimes the date—all very reminiscent of the basic details of the *cursus* provided in the *titulus* inscriptions of the Forum. Admittedly, it does not seem possible to determine whether a direct, or only indirect, influence was at work or whether the similarity is only generic—one can easily imagine different people arriving at fairly similar results when planning inscriptions—though even if this was the case it is quite conceivable that some

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[18] For the use of marble in copies of bronze statues see especially Tuchelt 1979, 74–9.

[19] For the beginnings of bronze statuary see Plin. *nh* 34.15–16, and cf. e.g. Rasmussen 1983, 23–4. Though descriptions of the wealth of statuary in the city abound, e.g. Stewart 2003, ch. 4, and it is clear that no distinction was made in the locations between setting up bronze and marble, I find it impossible to ascertain the relative quantities of the two kinds.

[20] See below, ch. 7. On the use of the nominative see Calabi Limentani 1969, 241–2.

[21] See *Inschr. v. Ol.* pp. 237ff.

contemporaries[22] would have noticed it. Would it be too bold to assert that, symbolically at least, we have before us an instance of the Augustan fusion and creation of an Empire-wide Greco-Roman culture?

Pausanias' detailed (though definitely not all-inclusive) description of the victor statues at Olympia may be put to further use. Unfortunately the evidence for the impression the Forum of Augustus made on the viewer, whether casual visitor or specialised traveller, is much more circumstantial, and will be discussed in a later chapter. Thus Pausanias' *periegesis* of Olympia gives us the closest parallel of what it would have been like to inspect the statues of the Augustan Forum, at least in the case of a rather learned and antiquarian type of visitor. Most of the information would be derived from reading the inscriptions: Pausanias constantly (explicitly in over two score of instances) refers to them in his account, and it is made clear that most basic details, viz. name, patronymic, *patria* and sport, and occasionally victories in other games, as well as sculptors' names derive from this source. No doubt this is mostly the case even when the inscription is not expressly mentioned;[23] verse inscriptions and other texts of outstanding interest are referred to in more detail or copied. Sometimes instructive details of the statues are described. It is only occasionally (2.3, 13.10)[24] that we hear of consultation of the Eleans' lists of victors. Though Pausanias never expressly refers to professional guides, it is obvious that it is they who are at the source of the half a dozen or so instances (see 4.4, 5.6, 6.4, 9.8, 10.1, 10.3, 14.6) where additional details that certainly would not be included in the inscriptions are introduced with λέγεται and φασιν.[25] Even allowing for Pausanias' professional interest and trained eye the similarity of the inscriptions to the Augustan ones provides a fair idea of what the public could, and would, learn from their study. The number of statues at Olympia must have been greater than that in the Forum by at least a factor of five,[26] and over the time they were put up in a disorderly jumble. In contrast, the Roman Hall of Fame was both well structured and of a size that could be more easily scrutinised, thus enabling a far more effective educational impact.

[22] Such as, e.g., readers of Hor. *c.* 1.1, where the very first two types achieving the peaks of human ambition are the Olympic victor and the Roman statesman?

[23] Thus Habicht 1985, 139; 163 n. 82 counts over 200 inscriptions.

[24] All references in this section are to book VI.

[25] For guides and Pausanias see Jones 2001.

[26] Cf. the thousand or so Olympic victors (above, n. 9) with the about 200 (see below, ch. 5) statues in Augustus' Hall of Fame.

Of course all these similarities should not hide the basic difference between Olympia, where the statues were assembled by individual initiative (though regulated by a general rule) over a long period and where the wider picture emerged only by attentively inspecting the many details, and the *Forum Augustum*, where a well thought-out plan implemented at one stroke helped to guide the visitor not only to see for himself, but also to arrive at specific conclusions from what he saw. A tour, and certainly a guided tour, around the colonnades of the Augustan Forum may have been a most useful course of instruction in Roman history. Indeed, despite one's reluctance to use such analogies, only the advanced visual aides of modern technology enable us to envisage the rich potential of such a condensed tour. But, to return to Antiquity, the main difference was engrained in the very way the two groups of persons were composed, on the one hand an open-ended catalogue consisting of all eligible members of a given set who chose to exercise their privilege and on the other an open-ended selection composed according to the ideas and political aims of one man. The disparity between Greek and Roman values and political conditions, between victors in the games and conquerors on the field of battle was the chief distinction between the two groups, but the actual physical composition of these groups was of no lesser significance.

The Olympic victors were an all-inclusive list of an exactly defined set of persons who attained the highest distinction in an important field of Greek civilisation. In other walks of life the definition of the very best, suitable as models to be imitated, was less easy to establish and could not to be reached by generally agreed objective criteria. (As for all-inclusive lists, such was indeed the later aim of the library of Alexandria, though with a totally different purpose.) Nonetheless the questions who were the wisest—or seven wise—men, the best writers of tragedy or the best orators must have exercised the minds of the Greeks—or some Greeks—to a considerable extent. Yet the beginning of the formation of the so-called 'canons'[27] is a far from clear matter and certainly beyond the scope of the present investigation. Let it only be said that eventually standard lists of the best and those recommended for imitation and emulation were drawn up, becoming in the event exclusive rather than only endorsed and sanctioned. The sad fate of anthologies (still somewhat in the future) also awaited the canons: non-inclusion almost automatically came to mean exclusion

[27] For the history of the term see Pfeiffer 1968, 207.

and in many cases eventually oblivion and loss. Indeed, eventually the approval and confirmation of certain authors and works was to mean the loss of the rest—most of them to the present day.

Even before canons were formally shaped often a consensus as to the best practitioners of a genre came to be moulded. Aristophanes in the *Frogs* could make Aeschylus and Euripides contend for the first place and eventually bring in Sophocles: it is clear that already at that early date no tragic writer would be considered worthy to contest the primacy of these three, and the question was only that of the priority among them. This can be profitably compared with Livy who, discussing the decease in the same year of Philopoemen, Scipio and Hannibal (39.50.10–11; 52.7–9), obviously did not have anything like an agreed canon of great generals before him. In the event the law of Lycurgus[28] effectively established a canon of the three tragedians, and this was followed, in Alexandria and later, with the gradual establishment of canons of the lyric poets, ten orators and other groups of generally acknowledged model representatives in various fields of intellectual achievement.[29]

The Seven Sages present a somewhat extraordinary case. The formation of the canon did not go undisputed, while the canonical number itself was universally accepted. As is well known, the tripod offered to 'the wisest' had been modestly refused by each in his turn,[30] thus preserving the canon of seven: the canon, that is the series, took precedence over the claims of the individuals. (Of course the magical number seven played a part, but this could only be subsequent to the recognition of the existence of a group, not one 'wisest' person.)[31] The group significance of the Seven Sages is best expressed—though at a somewhat later time—by their representations as a group in art.[32]

It is a significant characteristic of Greek canons that they always listed authors, or other personages, rather than particular works. In this they fundamentally differed from the modern concept of canon.[33] It

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[28] [Plut.] *X or.* 841F.

[29] See Scotti 1982.

[30] See the discussion in Martin 1993, 120.

[31] See, in general, Martin 1993.

[32] See Richter 1965a, 81–91; Lorenz 1965, 51; among other later examples one may compare the portraits of the twice seven doctors-pharmacologists in the opening pages of the illuminated Dioscurides *De materia medica*, see the facsimile editions J. de Karabacek et al., Dioscurides, *Codex Aniciae Julianae, picturis illustratus, nunc Vindobonensis Med. Gr. 1, phototypice editus*, Lugduni Batavorum 1906, and Dioscurides, *Codex Vindobonensis medicus Graecus 1*, Graz 1970.

[33] See e.g. Bloom 1994, 15: 'Originally the Canon meant the choice of books in our teaching institutions.'

was the total output of the man, and also what could be learned from it about his personality, rather than single works that was at the centre of interest—thus, it was the three tragedians or the ten orators that formed a canon rather than selected (or collected) works of theirs. (The selection of specially recommended works, particularly with reference to the school curriculum, e.g. of the tragedians, was a much later development and in no way intentionally rendered other works as outside the canon.) Nonetheless the interest they aroused was a consequence of their accomplishment. This tendency brought about the composition of lists of legislators, sculptors, painters and inventors[34]—but significantly not statesmen or generals.

Although the biographical interest in these persons comes to the fore in a variety of literary works already in the Classical Age, biography proper—that is, a literary work devoted to the life of a person from birth to death[35]—was not yet invented in this period. It was first in the Hellenistic age that entire literary works were devoted to poets, philosophers and other persons from intellectual walks of life. Unfortunately, there is too little left of Greek intellectual biography of the Hellenistic Age to construct an informed opinion of its exact contents and characteristics. Nevertheless, certain ingredients are conspicuous enough and should not be missed. By default of authentic information, the Lives of the Greek philosophers, poets and orators—one may think of the papyrus fragments of Satyrus' *Life of Euripides*—were based on a biographical interpretation of their works[36] and could hardly pretend to a realistic rendering of the features of their characters, let alone a reliable account of incidents of their lives, any more than the many sculpted copies of the face of Homer were true to the countenance of the poet of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[37] Predictably constructed biographies seem to have been no more objectionable than stereotyped statues and portraits—and one wonders to what extent the educated public seriously accepted the trustworthiness of either of these groups.

One feature of Hellenistic intellectual biography that is of particular interest is that more often than not it was produced in series.[38] The affinity of this phenomenon with the creation of the so-called canons

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[34] *POxy* 1241, and cf. Marrou 1956, 225.

[35] Cf. Geiger 1985a, 14, and see there, 11–18, the survey of literary genres related to biography.

[36] Lefkowitz 1981.

[37] Cf. Zanker 1995, 21–9; 160–6 with accompanying notes and figures.

[38] Geiger 1985a, 18–19.

is easy to see—and in certain cases there is perfect correspondence between the two: a good example is provided by the papyrus with the fragments of the *Life of Euripides*, part of a work containing the Lives of the three tragedians.[39] Nor are the affinities between these biographies and the emergence of individual portraits far to seek: the same human instinct that longed to divine the features of Homer also desired to know the facts of his life. It is only the deplorable fragmentation of the study of Classical Antiquity that separates the treatment of these closely related subjects.

The contrast between the emergence of canons of Greek poets, orators, philosophers and similar categories and the total absence of such selections from the Greek historical tradition is an inevitable consequence of Greek attitudes and incidentally goes a long way towards supporting the explanation offered for the absence of Greek political biography.[40] (In an aside it may be recalled that even those critics who wished to defend the existence of political biographies in the Hellenistic Age[41] did not claim that there were series of such biographies.) Such an absence is due to both Greek political conditions and historiographical traditions. The Tyrannicides in Athens were the first to be honoured by public statues,[42] though of course these could be erected in the Agora as commemorative statues only after their death. No agreed national heroes were conceivable in the political conditions prevailing in the various Greek states. Even the Persian wars were not a sufficiently Panhellenic and unifying venture to create 'national' heroes in a civilisation in which the notion of national identity was far removed from modern ideas. Nor were political conditions of the fifth century ripe for such a development. It was the wars and political upheavals of the fourth century that first brought about the erection of honorific statues, though in a relatively small number in the beginning.[43] Hero-worship (in the modern, rather than in the Greek religious, sense) was of course as Greek as any concept one can imagine, attested already at the moment we encounter Achilles in his tent singing of κλέα ἀνδρῶν (*Il.* 9.189). But hero-worship of an individual one aspires to emulate is one thing, fully-established canons of such national heroes an entirely different matter. Moreover, 'deeds of men' were crystallised

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[39] *POxy* 9.1176.
[40] Geiger 1985a, 19–20.
[41] Most bluntly Moles 1989, and see esp. 231, 232.
[42] Plin. *nh* 34.17; see e.g. Richter 1992, 98–9; Sehlmeyer 1999, 22–3.
[43] Sehlmeyer 1999, 23–6.

in *exempla* rather than in biography. Such *exempla* came to claim their place in Athenian rhetoric[44] and became standard, and as such were recognisable and referred to only by hint or allusion. The *exemplum* caught the historical personality in one singular, well-defined, act, an act that not only showed the man and revealed his character, but also contained a moral lesson that could be set up as an example to emulate. Nothing could be farther than this from a biographical approach. It is one action rather than the totality of a life and a personality that is in focus, the moral building of the self rather than the understanding of another's character that is the purpose of the *exemplum*.[45] This of course is true of later political biography too, dedicated as it was to the perfection of the moral character of the reader. There, however, a deeper understanding of the subject of the biography is the prerequisite for this improvement, while the historical *exemplum*'s much more modest approach aims at throwing light on a single characteristic, by means of focusing on a particular act. Since the *exemplum* served the orator in illustrating a specific point, the required characteristics were exhausted before long and a more or less fixed inventory of historical tales came into being.

But it was not only the biographical approach that was absent from the Greeks' attitude to their political and military leaders. The idea of setting up groups of statues of successful statesmen and generals apparently never occurred to the Greeks in the Classical Age, and even single leaders appeared quite rarely as deserving of such a distinction. In fact our evidence for such statues is fairly limited, those that can safely be identified by their inscribed names are no more than three.[46] Honorific statues, that is 'portraits of prominent men awarded by the state in gratitude for significant benefactions', became a habitual part of the public space only in the Hellenistic period.[47] In this time groups of statues of family members[48] or other programmatic groups were occasionally assembled, interestingly enough sometimes in exedrae.[49] Those who had the means to do so could set up groups of statues reflecting their

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[44] Perlman 1961; cf. Thomas 1989, 198–202.

[45] Plato *Gorg.* 515d with the negative examples of Pericles, Cimon, Miltiades and Themistocles may perhaps be viewed as an exception, albeit a very personal one; see its later reflection in Aelius Aristides' *To Plato, In Defence of the Four* (*or.* 3).

[46] Richter 1965a, 14 lists only Themistocles, Miltiades and Pericles before the age of Alexander. Olympiodorus, listed with them, belongs already in a later age.

[47] Smith 1991, 10.

[48] Raschdorff 1895.

[49] Schmidt-Colinet 1991.

ideas, tastes or particular preoccupations. To envision such groups one may refer to the Serapeion in Memphis, where a number of statues of various Ptolemies are to be found mingled among philosophers such as Plato, Heraclitus, Thales and Protagoras, and singers and poets like Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod and Pindar.[50] But whatever the criteria for selection, such groups never came to acquire something that might be called an official or binding status.

It will readily be seen that all these elements that were to play a role in the *Forum Augustum*, the interest in the personality, the grouping of persons according to the areas of their achievements and the selection of the best in each field, the celebration of such persons by means of statues, were already present in the Greek world. It was only the particular mixture and emphasis of these ingredients in the *Forum Augustum* that was to make its Hall of Fame what it was. The almost total neglect in Greek art of men from the political and military spheres—save for the rather few honorific (or closely related commemorative) statues set up singly or later in mixed groups—is noteworthy and goes a long way towards explaining the proposition at the beginning of this chapter concerning the impossibility in Greek literature of a 'Heldenschau', and by implication an archetype for the *Forum Augustum*.

And of course there was one more ingredient missing—nothing we have seen in the Greek world even made an attempt to approximate the authority with which Augustus' Hall of Fame was imposed from above. Even the statue groups assembled by Hellenistic kings never aspired to anything like the authoritative manifestation of the Forum, nor did they ever promulgate, as far as we can tell, anything like the clearly formulated message Augustus sent to his people. To put it bluntly: Greek statues and groups of statues were places of memory in the primary sense of the word; Augustus' Gallery of Heroes was, as we shall see, a place of memory, but was meant above all as a place of instruction. It displayed the past, but its message was for the present and for the future.

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[50] Lorenz 1965, 4–6; Schmidt-Colinet 1991, 58–60; cf. also ibid. 57 for the observation that Bernini's Piazza St Pietro with its 140 saints is a late descendant of such double exedrae. Actually, the observation is not convincing: none of the Greek assemblages of statues known to me had the thematic unity of the saints.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROMAN BACKGROUND

It is impossible to tell whether any of the Greek background discussed in the previous chapter had a direct influence on the display of sculptures in the Forum of Augustus. We have noticed some similarities with the statues of the Olympic victors and their inscriptions, but we have no clue as to whether these similarities had caught the attention of Augustus or his friends. The direct influences that can be traced were Roman, and it was these that in all likelihood absorbed ingredients from some of these Greek forerunners. When Augustus completed his plans he had before his eyes both a phenomenon which he must have regarded as self-evident, namely the wealth of statuary and portraiture displayed in the city and elsewhere in Italy, in public places and in the houses of the nobility, and also what was largely an innovation of his age, a variety of literary works dealing with historical personages, some of whose authors he may have been acquainted with. Both these phenomena must have been highly relevant to his pursuit. It is these two kinds of probable influences that will be traced and evaluated in the present chapter.

The portraiture of the Roman nobility, its parade and significance have received considerable attention in recent years.[1] Here two basic types of portraiture should be distinguished. One is the *imago*, the funeral mask,[2] a distinction to which only Roman citizens who have held office were entitled. Apparently from quite early times on[3] these funeral masks of the members of the Republican nobility were preserved in the atria of the mansions of their descendants who proudly displayed them to the wider public on the grand occasions of their funeral processions. In the atrium the masks were present for all to see on family events and thus were well known to members of the extended family and to those closely associated with it, but their presentation was also

[1] See above all Lahusen 1983; 1984; Flower 1996; Sehlmeyer 1999; and the important observations of Gregory 1994.

[2] Not to be confused with death masks, see Stewart 2004, 7.

[3] See Flower 1996, 46.

directed towards clients and others arriving for the morning *salutatio* of the Roman noble. The accompanying inscriptions[4] provided the names and other necessary information about the persons concerned. The famous public occasions of the pageants of these *imagines* before the entire population of the city were the funerals of the members of the nobility, when actors wearing the masks enacted the roles of the glorious ancestors of the deceased. The well-known description of Polybius (6.53–4) provides a welcome example of the impression that these processions made on the appreciative foreigner, and no doubt also on the residents of the city.

In order to grasp the possible connexions with the Hall of Fame of Augustus certain points concerning these ancestor masks should be kept in mind. First, these were of course family portraits displayed on family occasions: each aristocratic family possessed such masks and in fact one of their main functions was to support the prestige of the members of the family against that of members of other families in the fierce political competition of the Republic. Thus a great number of these competing groups of *imagines* existed, albeit a considerable amount of overlap between them could be observed in the funeral processions. This brings us to our second point. The family *imagines* in these processions were all-inclusive in the widest possible sense. Not only were all ancestors who had held office included,[5] but for this particular purpose the family was defined in a very loose sense and in the broadest possible terms—neither the very strict legal definition of the family nor a wider one including both *agnati* and *cognati* but one embracing virtually everybody connected in some way or other, such as relations by marriage.[6] For this purpose one could actually define the family here as all relatives of relatives. Though obviously star roles were given to the ancestors of great achievements, one of the aims of the procession seems to have been to overwhelm by sheer numbers. The number of occasions for display was also increased with the introduction of the practice of funeral processions and *laudationes funebres* for women.[7] Thirdly, when considering the later staging of Augustus in his Forum, one should keep in mind the evident point of the limita-

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[4] Flower 1996, 182–4.

[5] In the event broadening the scope beyond curule magistracies to include plebeian aediles: Flower 1996, 272.

[6] See Blösel 2003, 57.

[7] Flower 1996, 122–5.

tion of the display of the *imagines* in the limited space of the atrium or in terms of time in the funeral processions. Lastly, obviously from the artistic point of view the wax masks—unfortunately known to us in very general terms only—worn by people acting the role could bear but little resemblance to full-size marble or bronze statues.[8] Though in the funeral processions the actors wearing the masks also displayed the signs of office of the deceased, obviously there was no room there for features recalling historical incidents, such as we shall encounter in the Forum of Augustus. On the other hand, it hardly needs saying that in one important aspect the *imagines* bore perceptible affinities with the assembly of heroes in the Forum of Augustus. Above all they both featured people from the same group of military and political leaders—in fact, it is safe to say that every person represented in the Forum of Augustus also had an *imago*. Needless to say, this equation was not reversible.

As we have seen, ancestor masks bore some relation to the statuary display of the Forum. Indeed, the visual exhibition of historical figures was not only an essential part of the periodic pageantry of the aristocratic houses but also an important constituent element of the permanent public scene of the city. No Roman could be but deeply impressed by the parade of masked actors incarnating the illustrious ancestors at the burials of the nobility, but much less could one ignore the permanent copious display of honorific statues in the available public spaces of the city.[9]

And such statuary was anything but newly introduced into the city. Honorific (including commemorative) statues had long been a distinguishing feature of the cityscape. It is worth the while to dwell here briefly on some characteristics of these statues that may prove of relevance for the Forum of Augustus. We may start with one point that is probably of no great concern but should not be left unsaid. It appears that the beginning of honorific statues in the city goes back to the year 338 BCE and the erection of the equestrian statues of Maenius and of his colleague, the Younger Camillus.[10] Even this rather cautious

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[8] Though the present study deals neither with the aesthetic side of the various forms of images nor with the psychological response to them, the groundbreaking study of Freedberg 1989 cannot be ignored even in the present context.

[9] See e.g. Stewart 2003, ch. 4.

[10] Sehlmeyer 1999, 48–52, and cf. below, ch. 5. Oakley ad Livy 8.13.9 (published 1998): 'there is no compelling reason to reject what L records here'.

result, rejecting as it does doubtful evidence for earlier statues, testifies to the long tradition of thus honouring the great men of the Republic. At any rate it is noteworthy that as in Athens so also in Rome first only contemporary figures were so honoured, and only later on were commemorative statues set up for historical (including some we would regard as mythological) personages of past times.[11] It is to other questions that we must now turn—who erected the statues, who were thus honoured, where were the statues located, what were the accompanying inscriptions and what material were they made of.

It will be readily understood that in the prevailing political conditions of Republican Rome the erection of statues could not have been regulated by law. While some monuments had been decreed by the Senate or assembly of the people there was no obstacle to setting up statuary by private initiative, either as fulfilment of a vow, as a commemorative gesture or for any other reason. In fact the decree of the censors of 158 BCE[12] to remove from the Forum all statues not decreed by Senate or people implies their considerable number set up by this time by private initiative.[13] Consequently there could not exist regulations, or even closely observed conventions, governing the selection of those deemed worthy of such an award. Though as a rule men were honoured with statues following triumphs or other great achievements, the definition of these achievements was by necessity totally subjective especially for those statues erected by private initiative.[14] Indeed the saying attributed to Cato the Elder[15] that he would rather that people ask why he did not have a statue than why he did seems nicely to illustrate the proliferation of such honours.

It also goes without saying that by their very nature as well as owing to the history of the crystallisation of the statuary habit—if one may coin the expression—statues were erected in most cases singly, without much forethought and certainly devoid of any sort of overall planning.

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[11] Sehlmeyer 1999, 109.

[12] Plin. *nh* 34.30–1; Ampel. 19.11; *vir. ill.* 44. Both these two later texts speak of *quisque . . . ponebat/posuerat*.

[13] The scepticism of Sehlmeyer 1999, 154 concerning this argument seems to me excessive.

[14] For purposes of comparison it may be kept in mind that the triumph was regulated by a *ius triumphandi*, see Versnel 1970, 164–95 and the respective amendments of Richardson 1975 and Develin 1978.

[15] Plut. *Cato ma.* 19.4; *apophth. Rom.* 198f, *Cato ma.* 10; *praec. ger. rp.* 820b; Amm. Marc. 14.6.8.

Private initiative implies private reasoning. Nevertheless for self-evident reasons small groups of sculptures were set up from time to time: the ambassadors on the rostra,[16] the seven kings of Rome and Brutus on the Capitol[17] (a subject of some interest to which we shall return in due time)[18] and the three Marcelli[19] may be mentioned.[20] Accordingly also the location of the statues in the central public spaces of the city—the Forum including the Comitium, in and next to temples and on the Capitol, was rather random. It is not entirely unrelated to our subject that in the Late Republic moneyers issued coins with portraits.[21]

Some points concerning the Republican honorific statues should be kept in mind for reasons of comparison with those of the *Forum Augustum*. The inscription was either a *titulus* containing the *cursus honorum* of the honorand or else an *elogium* detailing the feats that merited the erection of the monument.[22] Second, two points concerning the very nature of the statues are worth mentioning. One, a number of these were equestrian statues,[23] and second, they were, as far as we can tell, of bronze, in conformity with the convention concerning honorific statues in Greece.[24]

One may sum up this section. By the time Augustus decided on and planned his Hall of Fame in his Forum, he could look back on a long tradition of erecting honorific, including commemorative, statues in Rome. Much of the public space of the city, above all the Forum, the Comitium and the Capitol, were replete with predominantly bronze sculptures, not few of them equestrian, with their accompanying inscriptions. In fact one can see that this unmanageable and rather random assemblage was a major component of the Roman cityscape, and, even ignoring the question of his Forum, they must have constituted by that time a considerable obstacle to the plans of the Princeps for the rebuilding and reconstruction of the city and to his hope to impress on it his personal stamp. At the same time one has to remember that these

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[16] Sehlmeyer 1999, 63–6.
[17] Dio 43.45.4, Plin. *nh* 33.9.
[18] See the discussion in ch. 5.
[19] Asc. *in Pis.* 44, 12C.
[20] Cf. Sehlmeyer 1999, 191–2, 222–4 for further groups of statues.
[21] *RCC* II 734; 749–50.
[22] See e.g. Sehlmeyer 1999, 110.
[23] For the derivation of equestrian statues from Greece see Plin. *nh* 34.19–20.
[24] This emerges above all from the fact that they are discussed in book 34 of Pliny's *Natural History* and cf. above, ch. 2 nn. 17–19; see also Hölscher 1978, 330.

monuments and their stationing were part and parcel of a Roman's perception of the city's past and present.

Needless to say, the impression left must have varied widely according to the education and interests of the spectator. However one point of great importance should be made here. The choice of visually exhibited heroes, and we shall presently see that the same goes for those chosen in verbal media, was made in circumstances appropriate to the political framework of the Republic—that is, by private initiative: even when statues were erected by public, i.e. senatorial, decision, the initiative as a rule came from the family of the honorand. Thus the public display of the men who had made the Republic great appropriately reflected Republican values, traditions and political circumstances.

The proliferation of realistic Hellenistic portraits in Republican Rome and Italy,[25] and their influence on honorific statues, were to be of the most far-reaching implications not only for our specific quest, but also for the development of Roman art as a whole. This was combined with another important advance. We have seen that Classical Greece created neither canons of political and military personages nor artistic representations of collections of personalities from any walk of life, but this last deficiency was to be amended in the Hellenistic period. The invention that was to facilitate such assemblages was the notable innovation of the statue bust, which replaced to a considerable extent the full-length portrait statue.[26] Exhibitions of thematically arranged busts, such as had become fashionable in libraries, became precursors also to more variegated and less genre-bound galleries, once more emphasis was placed on the aesthetic rather than on the intellectual aspects of such collections. This novelty went a long way towards making the arrangements of portrait collections and assemblages accessible to a wider range of people. Roman nobles could collect and set up thematically arranged galleries of their choice of poets, philosophers and orators which were not genre-bound and were sometimes studded with the statues or busts of Greek political and military leaders. By far the best-known private collection of this sort is that of the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum. Thus the statuary decoration of Italian villas was also to include representations of heroic statesmen and generals. In these collections one could encounter that strange combination, so habitual to the eyes of the modern beholder that sometimes it passes

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[25] See Zanker 1976.
[26] Richter 1965b.

unnoticed or is accepted as self-evident, of realistic Roman portrait-heads on idealised Hellenistic bodies.[27] However, as can be seen e.g. from analyses of the adornment of the Villa dei Papiri,[28] the representations of rulers and generals served solely decorative purposes devoid of any political programme or interest. Whatever the different interpretations of the collection as far as the intentions of its owner are concerned,[29] for our purposes the most significant feature is the fact that this was a private collection, reflecting private taste, liable to be changed with a change of owner or a change in his tastes. Collections of this sort, even in Rome, were certainly of no general or public impact. Although owners of course were entirely free to choose their subjects, it is noteworthy that as far as we can tell such selections were made exclusively from the Greek sphere, with no Romans added. This establishes a remarkable opposition between the choice of statuary in the private and in the public spheres. Even in later, Imperial, villas the statues used as decoration practically never included Roman statesmen.[30] Nevertheless there may be a point here that should be kept in mind. By the time of Augustus the Roman noble—and the Princeps was in appearance at least only the grandest of these—would not regard it as in any way new or extraordinary to present his ideas about the great men of the past in the form of a sculptural display. The above-mentioned dictum attributed to Cato the Elder only expresses the belief that such a staging was a self-evident part of the presentation of the Roman noble.

The extent of the influence of these visual aspects on the Roman consciousness seldom receives sufficient emphasis from Roman historians, trained as they mostly are as classical philologists. But of course the great men of the past were present to the Roman mind not only in the visual parade of works of art but also in verbal utterances on formal and public occasions and in the event—for those who had access to them—in works of literature.

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[27] For the combination of statues with realistic Roman portraits and idealised Hellenistic bodies see Balty 1991, 8; Stewart 2004, 9; and the discussion in Stewart 2003, 47–59. If the famous *Thermenherrscher* is indeed a Roman (Flamininus?), he would be an outstanding example of this strange combination. For bibliography on the controversy see Galinsky 1996, 163 and n. 51.

[28] Neudecker 1988, 110–11.

[29] The latest, and most thorough, investigation leaves the question of the original plan open: Mattusch 2005, 353–61.

[30] See Neudecker 1998, 64; also the single notable exception from this rule, a herm of Cato the Younger (possibly part of a double herm with Socrates), was selected for Cato's philosophical associations rather than for his political standing: see Geiger 1999.

Closely connected with the funeral mask was the *laudatio funebris*.[31] The Roman aristocrats—and we have seen that in the Late Republic this included women as well as men—were accorded funeral orations at their burial. Though these were eulogies rather than biographical utterances, a strong biographical element was surely present in them together with a long enumeration of the achievements of their forefathers. These were the occasions on which the population of Rome had an opportunity to learn about the exploits of the men who were being buried and those whose masks had been carried in the funeral procession, with some of whose (putative) features they may have been acquainted also from honorific statues in the city. There can be little doubt that these mass occasions were at the centre of the public life of the city.

Another source that must have influenced in some way the selection of Roman *summi viri* must be considered. Probably the most important, and by the Late Republic certainly also most frequent, encounter of Romans with their history was by means of the historical *exemplum*.[32] These *exempla* constituted part of the staple of Republican rhetoric. Romans of the political classes employed them in their speeches and thus also exposed that part of the population that may be labelled the passive political class to them. For this class one may postulate a repertoire of historical knowledge, to be divined from the historical *exempla* dished out to them in political oratory.[33] Thus not only the educated elite, many of whom spoke in the Senate or at least were present at its sessions, but also the sections of the masses attending public trials and participating in the *contiones* were accustomed to references to the famous exploits of great men, which were as a rule driving home a moral. As is well known, history in Antiquity was never a subject taught for its own sake, it never became one of the *artes*. The *auctores*, among them historians, were studied for a variety of reasons both of subject matter and of form. However, in the case of the historians at least, subject matter was picked up *en passant* and did not form a focus of interest in itself. One of the chief advantages one derived from studying the historians was their usefulness as teachers of rhetoric, the provider of

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[31] Kierdorf 1980.
[32] See now Bücher 2006.
[33] See Horsfall 2003, 90, 94–5.

the main armoury in the political encounters of the Roman Republic. The rhetorical *exemplum* was of course a weighty weapon in this arsenal, the more familiar and repetitive the mightier and more usefully employed. It may be argued that the *exempla* probably serve as our best guides to the historical consciousness of the great majority of Romans, and perhaps to some extent also of that of the educated upper classes. Certainly for the masses, who presumably did not read the authors, the *exempla* provided the material from which the lessons of history were drawn—or so it was hoped by those who presented these *exempla* to the public. So, it must be presumed, the historical consciousness of the average Roman was speckled with isolated instances, randomly sown, of heroic and virtuous deeds, showing the great of bygone generations in the light of their greatest actions and from their most impressive side. Chronological order or historical context could scarcely have been expected from these seemingly unsystematic stories and anecdotes. Incidentally, it is here (cf. below) that Nepos' lost *Lives of Roman Generals*, conceivably intended as the entire series for a middlebrow audience, came to fill some parts of a void. No doubt these *Lives* were arranged, like their Greek counterparts, in chronological order and thus gave at least some semblance of historical background and development.

The effectiveness of the *exemplum* undeniably increases with its familiarity, but in the first place it depends on a certain conciseness and distinctiveness in placing an historical figure in a given situation. Though it was not impossible to derive more than one moral from the actions of a great public personality, as a rule such a personage became encrusted in the minds of Romans in a certain moment and situation, to serve as example for all time to come. Yet these *exempla*, though centred on the achievements of *summi viri*, were a far cry even from the shortest of biographical sketches. As a rule they displayed their heroes in one single act, at a certain stage of their career, at a definite point in time, providing a tableau rather than a narrative—Mucius Scaevola with his right hand in the flames, Cincinnatus returning to the plough, Regulus to captivity and torture. (By the way, it is exactly this characteristic that renders these and some other figures of Roman history such favoured subjects in painting in the Renaissance and after.) Yet the rhetorical use of the *exempla* did not allow for a widening of the horizon or deepening of interest, so additional and more effective methods for the teaching of patriotic history had to be employed. This task was left for an age in which a well-designed historical education imposed from above was to instruct the political consciousness of the Romans.

Two points[34] linking the historical *exempla* and the images of the Forum should not be lost on us. One, as can be seen also from the instances adduced towards the end of the preceding paragraph, there existed a certain affinity between *exempla* and visual representation, and surely the best *exempla* were made to stimulate the visual imagination of the hearers—or eventually the other way round, the statues often carried iconographic signs referring to the best-known deed of the person represented, which often served as an *exemplum*. Indeed, we may have reason to believe that in some cases such representation was bespoke to the appearance of the *exemplum* as fixed in the public mind, in other words in these cases at least visual representation would follow a certain attribute or situation best known from an *exemplum*. The crow on the (crest of the) helmet of Corvus in the Forum of Augustus,[35] as well as a number of other cases to be discussed below, would have served as a reminder of the story perhaps presented as an *exemplum* and no doubt repeated on the occasions of the funeral orations of the Valerii and perhaps also of *gentes* associated with them. Second, we are concerned here above all with the very choice, rather than the substance, or biography, of the personages. Though of course never attaining a fixed and rigid form, the very effectiveness of the *exempla* depended on the repetition of instances from a generally recognised pool, though evidently this was never established as a formal and closed 'canon'. This existing virtual 'canon' of historical *exempla* could not but have a profound influence on the composition of the new, visual canon officially presented by the highest authority—in fact the only real authority—in the state.[36]

But recent developments in the literature of his own times must have had far greater effect on the mind of Augustus than the long established—and dare one suggest, perhaps for some elite listeners, when not up to the highest rhetorical standards, also boring—*laudationes funebres* and historical *exempla*. While historical figures had already made their

[34] Perhaps a third should be added, Augustus' attested predilection for *exempla*, though I am not quite sure that in this he differed much from other members of the educated classes, see Suet. *Aug*. 89.2: *In evolvendis utriusque linguae auctoribus nihil aeque sectabatur, quam praecepta et exempla publice vel privatim salubria, eaque ad verbum excerpta aut ad domesticos aut ad exercituum provinciarumque rectores aut ad urbis magistratus plerumque mittebat, prout quique monitione indigerent.*

[35] Gell. 9.11.10.

[36] Dueck 2000, 185–91 has some useful charts of the appearance of exemplary Romans in Augustan authors as well as in the *Forum Augustum*. See now also Bücher 2006, 157–61 with his database of the *exempla* in the speeches of Cicero in Appendix III in the CD-Rom.

appearance in various genres of literature, it was only recently that entire literary works were devoted to them for the first time. Moreover, these works, presently to be discussed, possessed the common feature of dealing with the personages included in them in series rather than individually. Nevertheless, even as part of a series the historical personality came to the fore as never before. It seems to me beyond any doubt that this newly arisen interest in the political personality was shared by most contemporaries and must also have had a perceptible influence on the visual representations that are at the focus of the present enquiry.

The Augustan Age was not only an age of reform, of renaissance and of reconstruction, but also to a considerable extent an age looking back and summing up the achievements and the deficiencies of the past.[37] No satisfactory reorganisation of state and society could take place without considering the men and the ethical principles that had made the Republic great—*moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque*—and the failures, fallacies and false idols of the last generation that brought about its vicissitudes and ultimately its downfall. Without being aware of the past it was possible neither to recognise the great achievements of the present nor to realise that in the future there could be no returning to the mistakes of that past. But, to refer ahead to a theme that will have to be discussed more extensively, it was the first time in the history of Rome that a planned educational programme was initiated from above, and it was the first time that the widest sectors of the population were taken into consideration.

But, even before considering the attitude of Augustan culture to the past, it seems that it has not been sufficiently recognised that this looking back and summing up took its inception some time before the New Dispensation, already in the last generation of the Republic and in the Triumviral age. Part of the new appraisal was a widening of horizons, contemplating the history of Rome in a wider context and on a comparative basis. It was the Greek Polybius who first posited the history of Rome as part of a wider, universal history—as a matter of fact as its very focus—but to little avail, as far as Roman historians were concerned. These continued to view the history of the Republic from the narrow and traditional, annalistic point of view. It is one of the more telling aspects of the Roman encounter with Greece how insignificant, and in

[37] See now for this Gowing 2005, ch. 1.

the event how late, the impact of Polybius was.[38] The Roman annalists continued to repeat their accustomed pattern after the appearance of the work of Polybius, no Roman attempted to cast a wider net and include Greek or other foreign history in his work. As is well known, Cicero took a lively interest in Polybius' version of political science and its application to the history of Rome and her constitution. Indeed, his learning—and no doubt that of many of his contemporaries and social equals—contained a fair dose of reading in the Greek historians and a solid acquaintance with Greek history.[39] However, even the subject matter of The History That Cicero Never Wrote was not to deviate from the well-trodden path of Roman annalistic historiography.[40] This tradition was to come to its acme with the achievement of Livy. But it was a different approach that will be followed here, an approach that had the personality at its very centre.

In the first place three contemporaries, of different social standing and fortunes, but nevertheless connected in some ways, come here under consideration. All three were more than a generation older than the Princeps, but all three survived into the first part of his career. To what extent can the connexions between them and Augustus' *summi viri* be traced? Next, and more obviously, an association often taken into account—how exactly to relate Augustus' choice of men for his Forum to the parade of the heroes of Rome's glorious past (presented as future) at the centre of the national epos of Rome's greatest poet?

The activity of the near-contemporaries Varro, Nepos and Atticus reflects the new historical consciousness of the end of the Republic—a *Zeitgeist* whose importance cannot be exaggerated. While *annales* were the predominant genre since the very inception of Roman historiography, an interest in the personality and its achievements now came to the fore.[41] This change was the more emphatic because of the different

[38] Cf. Henderson 2001, 31–3; the celebrity status of Polybius in Pausanias is from a Greek point of view, and late.

[39] Rawson 1991 (= 1972), 60–61; 71.

[40] This conclusion does not run counter to the excellent discussion of Rawson 1991 (= 1972), who devotes the last part of her paper to this question.

[41] I forego here a discussion of Memoirs and other works of an autobiographical character that first appeared about a generation before the inception of the literary activities of Atticus, Varro and Nepos. (For the autobiographical remains of M. Aemilius Scaurus, P. Rutilius Rufus, Q. Lutatius Catulus and Sulla see *HRR* I 185, 189–90, 191–2 and 195–204.) Though I do not deny a certain connexion between the two literary movements and readily admit that Augustus, himself the author of *commentarii de vita sua* (Malcovati 84–97), was in all probability not unaware of these works, I cannot detect an influence of the autobiographical writers on the *Forum Augustum*.

character of these modern authors. These men were not senatorial historians, but were of a scholarly cast of mind, spectators, as it were, at the playground of history, and thus to an extent forerunners of Livy and of the summing-up of the annalistic historiography of the Republic. Granted, Varro was a senator and attained the praetorship, but his scholarly activities surely overshadowed any military or political exploits he may have achieved even in the eyes of his own contemporaries. Atticus is of course the Epicurean par excellence who abstained from direct involvement in politics (though not necessarily from some behind-the-scenes string-pulling), and lastly Nepos, though probably on friendly terms with such figures as Cicero,[42] was, as far as we can tell, never politically active. Their choice of scholarly activity must also have been influenced by private interests and characteristics beyond our perception: Varro and Nepos chose, each in his own way, to deal with hundreds of figures from many walks of life, the political and military being just one, and not necessarily the most prominent, among them, while Atticus, the intimate friend and adviser of politically active aristocrats, dealt with the genealogy of the nobility or of some of its chosen members.

This brings us to a general consideration, namely the emphasis that will be placed, in line with the specific questions raised here, on the process of inclusion of the various personalities into the diverse works of these authors. The research of Cicero's friend Atticus[43] into the family histories of the Iunii, Marcelli, Fabii and Aemilii, highly praised by Nepos,[44] could not deviate, at least as far as the choice of subjects is concerned, from the customary glorification of ancestors. Of course, Atticus' interest in genealogy had come to the fore already in his *Liber annalis*, where family connexions must have been appropriately highlighted.[45] It must have been this feature of the work that encouraged Brutus, who was the first to request a book on his *gens*, the Iunii, to approach Atticus on this matter. As in the collections of family *imagines* and the praise accorded to the ancestors in the *laudationes funebres*, there could be no question of selection, only of accent and emphasis. Still, it should be kept in mind that, unlike the compositions of Varro and

[42] Geiger 1985b.
[43] For reasons of convenience, the discussion here of the three near-contemporaries is not strictly chronological.
[44] Nepos, *Att.* 18.3–4.
[45] Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 72: [*Atticus*] *me inflammavit studio illustrium hominum aetates et tempora persequendi.*

Nepos, these books, like the other known works of Atticus, still dealt exclusively with Roman statesmen and military leaders. They were more than mere family trees (. . . *a stirpe ad hanc aetatem ordine* . . . *quis a quo ortus*). There were also details of each person's *cursus honorum: quos honores quibusque temporibus*. Unfortunately, nothing can be said about how this material was arranged, though it seems to me a fair bet that here too that part of the Roman nobility that must have existed, but about which we know next to nothing,[46] namely people who through choice or because of the lack of mental or physical endowments never attained political office, was passed over in silence.[47]

It was most probably a different work of Atticus that is next mentioned by Nepos (*Att.* 18.5) as *poëtice*, rather than an expanding on the features of the genealogical collections.[48] This book was arranged in a most peculiar and novel manner: each person was represented by his *imago*[49] and under it were found not more than four or five lines of verse (*non amplius quaternis quinisque versibus*) recounting his achievements and offices (*facta magistratusque*). These meagre but intriguing details leave some scope for speculation. It is a reasonable assumption that the illustrated book was later than the *Liber annalis* and at least some of the genealogical works, which may have been composed over an extended period, and that it made use of material collected for these earlier works. Though in some cases there were statues from which the illustrations could be copied, on the whole and practically for a work of some scope there seems to be no viable alternative to the suggestion that these will have been copied from the family wax masks. This in turn would increase the likelihood of relating the work, at least from this aspect, to its genealogical predecessors—at the very least ready cooperation of the families in question was required. No guesses as to the exact poetic nature of the composition can be hazarded, though it seems fairly obvious that certainly in some cases the four or five lines of

[46] Worse than Roman Also-Rans (for whom see Broughton 1991; cf. Flaig 1995, 121), there must have been completely forgotten Non-Starters.

[47] Whether Libo, most probably L. Scribonius Libo, wrote some similar work, as Münzer *RE* 2A, 1 (1921) Scribonius no. 20, 881–5 (cf. Peter *HRR* I^2, ccclxxvi–ccclxxviii) would have it, must remain in the realm of conjecture.

[48] Thus, e.g., Schanz, *GRL*^{3} (1909), I.2 123, followed by Millar 1988, 50; Horsfall 1989, 102 prefers a characteristically pregnant silence.

[49] Cf. also Plin. *nh* 35.11.

verse[50] could not include more than a mention of some of the magistracies and allusions to the most famous exploits of their subject.

For our purposes the most important characteristic of this work is one that has received no attention until now. Both in the annalistic work and in the genealogical compositions the subject matter was a foregone conclusion—one featured the chronologically arranged magistrates, the other the ancestors of the families by whose representatives the author had been engaged. In contrast, in the *imagines* it was up to Atticus (though still requiring the friendly cooperation of the families involved) to choose those, *qui honore rerumque gestarum amplitudine ceteros populi Romani praestiterunt*. We can only speculate on how his selection was made. Surely reusing readily available and earlier published material is not a modern invention. Did he choose from the entire database available to him in his *Annales*, or did he take the easier path of relying (at least to a large extent) on the genealogical tables of the families researched by him? If the latter was the case, we may presume that already at the stage of genealogical research he had opportunity to inspect the wax masks of the families concerned so that they were known to him and ready at hand when he decided to have them copied into the book. In Rome's political climate it would of course never occur to anybody to protest if he happened to exalt the very same families whose genealogies he had already privileged. Be this as it may, he was as far as we know free to choose and apply his own criteria in the process of selection. All within the limits of the Roman political frame of mind, of course: it was still *honores* and *res gestae* that determined the greatness of a Roman, and there is no reason to believe that Atticus would have deviated from the accepted norms.[51] In this work, then, he proved a near perfect predecessor of Augustus, save that here we have to do with a rather modest private arrangement known to a small circle of *cognoscenti* and without, as far as one may guess, any wider influence, let alone authority.

It is easy to fail to notice the novelty of Atticus' design. Both in arranging magistrates chronologically in an annalistic framework and

[50] The 'four or five lines' seem to discard the alternative of elegiac distichs and make the choice of hexameter the more probable suggestion.

[51] This in fact suggests what may look to us as an absurdity, that persons like Atticus himself, the subject of a biography (in his lifetime!) by Nepos, would not feature in Atticus' own work.

in collecting material pertaining to ancestors of prominent families he walked a well-trodden path. Choosing from among the Roman aristocrats those of the greatest achievement, creating a sort of list of honour was new, it was an innovation—though shared, with slight variations, by his two contemporaries. Presenting those chosen by the twofold means of picture and short (verse) account was shared by only one of these.

Next, the rather different impact of a major, if not always sufficiently acknowledged, innovator of the last age of the Republic. Whatever the shortcomings of the lost three books of the *Chronica* of Cornelius Nepos, the joining of Greek and Roman History, and provision of a Latin version of Greek history also for Greek-less, middlebrow Roman readers is an achievement that must by no means be underestimated.[52] Even though eventually the *Annales* of Atticus were to displace any impression the *Chronica* had created, the originality of Nepos should be accorded its due place. This is even more true of his greater work, the one on whose partial survival rests whatever claim to fame he may have, the long series of *de viris illustribus*. Again, the juxtaposition, and to all appearances on equal footing, of Greeks and Romans no doubt broke new ground.[53] It would be otiose here to recount the reasons given for the view that the addition of books on generals was an innovatory afterthought whose importance in all probability was not realised even by its author. Lives of kings, statesmen and generals, as opposed to those of philosophers, poets and other men of letters, were a literary genre invented, very possibly without giving much thought to it, by Nepos.[54] Moreover, for the purposes of the following argument it

[52] For what follows cf. Geiger 1985a; for the intended middlebrow public see esp. 71, 95; see also the intriguing discussion of Wiseman 1981, 375–93 on recitals of historical works. For the connexion between biography and portraiture see Geiger 2000; it is a good sign for the soundness of most contemporary scholarship that the repeated attempts to deny Nepos' authorship of the book on generals (Schmidt 2001; a previous attempt had been refuted by Geiger 1982) confesses itself as a Voice Crying in the Wilderness; for a most outspoken criticism of an earlier version of that failed endeavour see Wifstrand Schiebe 1997, 116.

[53] For Varro's *hebdomades* see below: though the exact composition of the work eludes us, it does not seem likely that an exact equilibrium between Romans and Greeks was, or could have been, maintained, nor that there was room for comparisons of any sort. One will hardly go along with the assertion (Rawson 1985, 231) that such comparisons go as far back as Cato the Censor.

[54] Tuplin 2000, the latest major reconsideration of Geiger 1985a, leaves the issue undecided. Another discussion of some interest, apparently totally ignored in English-language scholarship, is Holzberg 1989.

should be stressed that even those critics who fail to accept the priority of Nepos in the composition of political biography do not assert that entire series of political biographies had been written already in the Hellenistic Age, and argue only that single biographies of men of affairs already existed.[55]

I have argued that political biography was unknown in the Hellenistic Age and that the traces of such biographies, which some scholars believe to have detected inter alia among the sources of Plutarch's *Lives*, are illusory. The first emergence of political biography is Nepos' long series of two books about foreign and Roman generals, each including about twenty Lives, part of a much longer series of at least eighteen books,[56] which comprised several hundred Lives, divided into juxtaposed books devoted to Greeks (extended in the second edition, at least in the case of the generals, to include also other non-Romans) and Romans. What might strike the modern reader as strange and unexpected is in fact part and parcel of the ancient concept of personality and character. It is not the individual and unique, but rather the collective, characteristic that lies at the focus of interest. This is of course closely linked to the moralistic and pragmatic spirit of the genre: if you want to become an eminent general, you had better study the character—and of course also the battles, sieges and techniques of warfare—of as many successful generals as possible. Political biography emerged in a series, not in single works. Thus, at the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Augustan Age, a canon of Republican heroes was being brought into existence in Rome. It may be remarked here that our own canon of Republican heroes, dependent as it is on Plutarch, appears to reflect, to an uncertain, but perhaps not insignificant, extent the prejudices, predilections and probably also simply the material available to such late Republican writers as Nepos.[57]

The composition of biographical series has been viewed as a device enabling one to see the typical and representative, rather than the

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[55] Thus even Moles 1989, the most outspoken critic of Geiger 1985a.

[56] I find it hardly necessary to refute in detail the arguments of Schindler 1993; as an example one may read carefully 21–2, where he argues that Nepos' work consisted of seventeen, rather than at least eighteen, books. Basing the cornerstone of his argument on a point of little consequence is typical of the review as a whole. According to him the work could not start with *exteri* and the first book was a general introduction—needless to say, there is no shred of evidence for the first assertion, and the second is speculative (though not necessarily untrue).

[57] Geiger 1981, 95–8; 1995, 177–82; cf. Duff 1999, 247, 290–1.

individually characteristic and distinct, in the persons treated, an emphasis quite opposite to what is expected from modern practitioners of the genre. However, there is also a different aspect to the composition of biographical series, an aspect hitherto not discussed. When treating a variety of groups of ancient personages the confines of the subject were often rigidly circumscribed. The canons of the seven sages (or, at any rate, of seven sages), of the three tragedians, the ten Attic orators or the lyric Pleiad were ready-made subject matters whose bounds it would have been unwise to transgress. Not so with kings, statesmen and generals. Not only was the composition of biographical treatments of such personages an innovation in itself, but the establishment of a series, viz., the choices of inclusion and of omission, was to have more far-reaching consequences than could have been imagined at the time. The liberty taken by the author when choosing among all the existing specimens of a group also distinguished him from authors of such works as histories of countries organised by the series of their rulers.[58]

Unfortunately, we know too little about the lost books of Nepos' *de viris illustribus* to determine to what extent the books discussing Greeks in the various categories were based on existing canons. In certain categories or given fields of human endeavour earlier groups, evidently ready to hand, did exist, but, even though these groupings had not been formed with a view to literary or artistic use, still both addition to, and subtraction from, these groups had to consider existing traditions. Not only in the case of the Romans, where no biographical tradition existed at all, did the lists of subjects have to be invented from scratch, but also with the Greeks it appears that the very number of persons included necessitated a wider range than that of the commonly agreed best and greatest. The seven kings of Rome were of course a closed list, but so were the ancestors of the families of the nobility, so well advertised by their *imagines*. Cato the Elder reacted to the self-aggrandisement and glorification of family members of Republican statesmen and generals by means of that notorious absurdity, the History without Names.[59] Now Nepos, whose work, albeit long, was of a limited extent, managed to find a middle way between the inclusion, say, of all those who had contributed to the expansion of the Republic, and the radical

[58] Some royal series of course did not leave much of a choice, such as e.g. *On the Kings of Syria* by Athenaeus of Naucratis (*FGrH* 166).
[59] Nepos, *Cato* 3.4.

reaction of Cato, which he found strange enough to draw attention to. As to the actual composition of the lost book on Roman Generals, we must learn from the presumed analogy with the extant book on Greek Generals. The first edition of that book contained nineteen Lives of Greek generals, to which in a second edition[60] the Lives of Datames, Hannibal and Hamilcar had been added. Despite Nepos' own definition of his subjects as *excellentes imperatores*,[61] it is obvious that the reasons for his choice must have been various, attractiveness and availability of source material as well as the author's personal limitations among them. Nonetheless, excellence and fame (however Nepos understood them) were certainly the prime considerations. But above all one point is of immediate interest. To all appearances Nepos had no predecessors in this task, no previous list to copy, imitate or improve on, no official 'canon' or unofficially accepted list of excellence. A fortiori such was the case with Roman generals. The very necessity to choose his heroes was an innovation forced on Nepos by his previous, perhaps unwitting, innovation, his choice of subject. Though he had in Varro a predecessor of sorts, as will be presently seen, the work of Varro was far too idiosyncratic to count as a real precedent, even if it cannot be denied that it may have contributed to the crystallisation of Nepos' project. Be this as it may, we must be aware of some of Nepos' constraints; thus in the first place it has been noticed that the very lateness of the *Generals* in the series left no room for the inclusion of men who had been incorporated in earlier books of the work under other categories (e.g. Cato the Elder among the historians).[62] Nevertheless the outcome, unsatisfactory as it may have been, was the establishment, for the first time, of a list of outstanding Roman generals. Yet let it be said that this

[60] Geiger 1985a, 85, 95; the attempt of Toher 2002 to deny that the *Life of Atticus* and the *Lives of the Foreign Generals* belong to a second edition of the work fails to carry conviction. His main objection seems to be his refusal to believe in Nepos' innovative attempt to write the Life of a living person, an issue to be taken up in due course. As to other points, surely the references to the achievements of a man long retired and in his mid or late seventies could be referred to as final; the interpretation of *edere* in the key passage *Att.* 19.1 as not referring to publishing is forced (what can 'circulated privately' (146) mean in an age of manuscripts?), and he prefers to ignore in *reges* 1.1 the reading *nolumus* of the Parcensis, although it is acknowledged by him (148) as belonging to the 'better branch of the manuscript tradition', and he is aware of the paper (Geiger 1979) that drew attention to it. Of course the reference to 'publishing' here should be understood with all the reservations the term implies at the time, see Starr 1987 with previous bibliography.

[61] Nepos *praef. fin.*

[62] Cf. Geiger 1985a, 98.

list was one of personal choice, moreover one reflecting the preferences of a person of little consequence, so that one cannot surmise without further evidence that Nepos' roster had any immediate impact. One may also speculate, perhaps not entirely without reason, that the length of the list may have somehow conformed to that of earlier books in the series, so that the author had the dimension of his choice set at the outset—and one may remember that the one extant book by Nepos is in fact the longest surviving Latin 'book' from Antiquity.

Another possible feature of this work is worth recalling. It has been suggested[63] that Nepos included, after the fashion of Charon of Carthage, illustrious women in his series. If this was indeed so, it may well have been of some consequence for Augustus' own array of persons.

The work of the two authors considered up till now may or may not have influenced Augustus: at best the evidence is circumstantial. It can only be said with confidence that these books were readily available. It is only our surmise that these works of literature would not have escaped at some stage the attention of Augustus, or at least that of his aides and assistants, including the literary figures around Maecenas. Not so the third. As will be seen in the next chapter, there are weighty, in fact all but incontrovertible, and hitherto largely unnoticed, indications for his influence. Fortunately we are not obliged to appreciate the wide-ranging *œuvre* of that most learned of Romans, M. Terentius Varro, but a consideration of one of his most unusual works, the *de imaginibus* or *hebdomades*, is in order. The work was published in 39, even if it may have been under way already in 44.[64] It was made up of 700 portraits of *illustres*[65] with short accompanying texts, arranged in groups of seven or of multiples thereof.[66] The exact composition eludes us, though we may be fairly certain that among the groups included were Greek poets, philosophers and architects as well as Roman generals and statesmen.[67] Among these last, which are of special interest for our quest, Curius, both Catos, the *gens Fabia*, the Scipios and *totus ille triumphalis senatus*[68]

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[63] Geiger 1979, 662; cf. Geiger 1985a, 88.
[64] Cf. Geiger 1985a, 81.
[65] Plin. *nh* 35.11.
[66] Multiples: Geiger 1998.
[67] Ritschl 1877, 514–5 thought that Romans and Greeks and other foreigners were systematically juxtaposed in the work; it may be conceded that this was true of some categories at least.
[68] Symm. *ep.* 1.4.1. I take *triumphalis* here in a metonymical sense pertaining to the Senate rather than *sensu stricto* being applied to all its members—e.g. Cato the Younger was included though of course he never triumphed.

are expressly mentioned. As for categories not expressly attested, it will not appear as too far-fetched to speculate that the seven kings of Rome were one of the groups that called for inclusion.[69] Another group likely to have been included deserves a somewhat more comprehensive discussion.

One of the persons we know to have been portrayed in the work was Aeneas.[70] Since he must have been part of a group this would almost certainly be a set of Alban kings. That this group was a selection of seven kings from a more extensive canon is probably not sufficiently founded speculation.[71] On the contrary, since it has been suggested that Varro divided his work not only into groups of seven but also into multiples of that figure (or at least also into groups of fourteen), it seems most likely that the entire Alban canon figured in Varro's work. If indeed the list of fourteen foreign kings at the end of Nepos' book on Foreign Generals was taken over from Varro,[72] it is best to assume that it was selected so as to form the perfect counterpart to the fourteen Alban kings, and accordingly was eminently fitted to a work with Roman and foreign subdivisions. To be sure, it has been demonstrated more than a hundred years ago that fourteen was the canonical number of Alban kings.[73] It was the hebdomadic arrangement of Varro that had momentous, and as yet totally unnoticed, consequences for the Forum of Augustus, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter. Also an issue pertaining to the exact number and composition of the Alban king-list will have to be postponed for that discussion.

Another likely feature of Varro's work to which reference may be made here, and one that was in all probability of some consequence for the Forum of Augustus, or at least had a counterpart in it, was his inclusion of groups of women.[74] Pliny defines the subjects of Varro as *illustres*,[75] and there are strong indications that (multiples of) hebdomads of women were invoked, perhaps also because of the need to make up

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[69] See Norden 1990, 17.

[70] Ioh. Lyd. *mag.* 1.12.

[71] Norden 1990, 17, injudiciously followed by Geiger 1998, 306.

[72] As suggested by Geiger 1998, 308, now followed by Titchener 2003, 96.

[73] Trieber 1894, followed e.g. by Degrassi, *InscrIt.* XIII.35. The matter is somewhat complicated, since the canon appears to have consisted of Aeneas and fourteen more kings; see discussion below, ch. 4.

[74] Cf. Geiger 1998, 308–9.

[75] Plin. *nh* 35.11. Before the words *septingentorum illustrium* Detlefsen added in his edition *hominum*; this was accepted by Norden 1990, 6, n. 4, but has been rightly dropped (actually ignored even in the *apparatus criticus*) in Mayhoff's Teubner.

the required number of 700, but there existed also precedents, like the well-known one of Charon of Carthage.[76] Whether it was this that suggested to Augustus to include women among the statues of the Forum we shall probably never know for sure; that he did include them will be discussed in due course (ch. 5). Certainly the combination of picture and text was of great importance also here; the graphic presence of illustrious women in Varro's work—whatever their historical veracity and indeed Varro's sources—may well have overcome Augustus' doubts, if he had any.

Of course, it is not self-evident that influence flowed in only one direction, from works of literature to assemblages of works in the visual arts. What use did Atticus, Varro and Nepos made of the readily available source material of (inscribed) statuary in the city? Some educated guesses can be hazarded. Varro, in particular, would have been blind to ignore such a wealth of information,[77] which was there for the taking and to be included in the text and among the illustrations of his *imagines*. One instance, already referred to in a different context, will be usefully recalled. John the Lydian (*mag.* 1.12) describes the dress, armour and weapons of the ancient Roman army in great detail and goes on to reveal his source:

> Varro...recorded (ἀνεγράψατο) in his Portraits (ἐν ταῖς Εἰκόσι) that Aeneas had come in days of old to Italy dressed thus, because, as he said, he had seen his likeness hewn out of white marble at a spring in Alba.

Are we then to infer that somehow these writers got their ideas, or at least some inspiration, from the sculptural and wax portraiture virtually in permanent display before their eyes? For Varro and Atticus, who included—as far as we can tell, for the first time in the ancient world—portraits in their work this is not too difficult to imagine. Especially Atticus, even more so than Varro, his sphere consisting exclusively of political personages, and moreover such as had been commissioned by the very families of these persons, had readily available material in easy reach. As far as Nepos is concerned, the influence may well have been secondary.

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[76] *FHG* IV 360; now *FGrH* 1077, where for no cogent reasons the choice to see in him an Imperial, rather than Hellenistic, author is given preference.

[77] Disappointingly, the references to Varro in books 35 and 36 of Pliny's *Natural History* do not yield anything relevant to our pursuit.

Of course, Varro's meagre texts that accompanied his portraits did not amount to anything like biographies, and may well have been but of secondary importance to the illustrations themselves, but also writers of biographies would be unwise not to avail themselves of such material. Indeed, the very fact that Nepos remarks that Atticus added a few verses under each portrait of those *qui honore rerumque gestarum amplitudine ceteros populi Romani praestiterunt*[78] shows that he himself could not have been insensitive to the connexion of portrait and biography.[79] In his own brief biographies Nepos was able only to include the very shortest of comments on the hero's appearance.[80]

The examination of the parallels between the development of the biographical genre and that of realistic portraiture is a task of some complexity. There exist both a striking similarity and a chronological proximity between the arrangement of biographies, and of brief biographical sketches or notes, in series, and the organisation and display of portrait statues. The parallel between the invention of political biography by Nepos and his publication of his *Lives of Generals* in the thirties, on the one hand, and the design of the Forum of Augustus, on the other should not be put down to sheer coincidence.[81] However, one aspect, at least, of the process seems to be clear. The influences may have been, to some extent, reciprocal. Nevertheless, it appears that we are in a position to guess at the more effective direction of influence. Zanker has observed in his discussion of the retrospective portraits of intellectuals that the early biographies of these men stood on a much more modest artistic level than the chronologically corresponding masterpieces of Hellenistic sculpture.[82] This, of course, must have been a fortiori true of the realistic, though retrospective, portraits of statesmen, compared with the meagre descriptions of Atticus and Varro, and even of Nepos. It may be remembered here that too little is left of Greek intellectual biography of the Hellenistic Age to allow us to form an informed opinion of its exact contents and characteristics. We have seen (above, ch. 2) the utter untrustworthiness of the Lives of the Greek philosophers, poets and orators and their acceptance,

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[78] Nep. *Att.* 18.4–5.
[79] Cf. Horsfall 1995, 102.
[80] Evans 1969, 49 n. 40.
[81] Cf. also Plut. *Alex.* 1 with the emphatic comparison between biography and portraiture—not the most frequently discussed feature of that famous passage.
[82] Zanker 1995, 153.

without any belief in their authenticity, by a public similarly inclined towards fictitious portraits.

This short survey of three writers of biographies or works with a biographical content provides the background for our central concern, the establishment of a canon of excellence in the Augustan Age. First, Varro. It is not possible to establish priority between him and Nepos, though the assumption that the books on the generals were an afterthought suggests that these, at any rate, may well have been later than Varro's *imagines vel hebdomades*. Be this as it may, it looks more than likely that this work included groups of statesmen and generals, with the scheme of the work consisting of juxtaposed Greeks (or perhaps foreigners) and Romans.[83] Of course, Varro's epigrams and short prose comments that accompanied the pictures were a far cry even from the Nepotian form of brief biography, but his choice of heroes may well have influenced that of Nepos, and at any rate set such a choice alongside the traditional groups of persons from the intellectual sphere. Certainly such hebdomads, conceivably even multiple ones, may have provided Nepos with a conveniently ready-made pool for the selection of his subjects. On the other hand, Atticus' research into the family histories of the Iunii, Marcelli, Fabii and Aemilii, duly praised by Nepos,[84] did not deviate, at least as far as the choice of subjects is concerned, from the customary glorification of ancestors and thus was less likely to contribute to the establishment of a well thought-out canon. Still, the exact relationship between these authors is ultimately of little consequence, since by the time Augustus came to contemplate his Gallery of Heroes all their books were equally available to him.

Such then was the scene at the beginning of the Augustan era. Not only did all and sundry[85] know the adage of Ennius that it was the great men of the past and their virtues that had brought about Rome's greatness, but lists (including illustrated ones) were now being prepared to tell exactly who these men were and relate the nature of their virtues. Certain exemplary stories displaying to best advantage the outstanding deeds of some of these grandees were known to all, and the general

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[83] All discussions of the disposition of the work are based on Ritschl 1877; for a recent edition of the fragments see *M. Terenti Varronis Fragmenta omnia quae extant, collegit recensuitque Marcello Salvadore* I: *Supplementum*, Hildesheim etc. (1999), 86–95: 'Appendix prior. Hebdomades vel Imaginum libri, frgg. 106–124' (= Chappuis 1–19).

[84] Nepos *Att.* 18.3–4.

[85] That is, of the educated and political classes. For familiarity with Ennius up to and including the Augustan Age see Skutsch 1985, 9–16; 20–4; 26–9; 34–5.

public were reminded of the appearance and importance of the great nobles of the past both daily when contemplating their statues displayed in public places, and on specific occasions like burials and funeral games. However, we should take care not to equate the relative historical ignorance of most Romans with naïvety or lack of awareness of the self-serving trends and self-aggrandisement of much of what they were exposed to. The randomness and lack of organisation of the historical material on the one hand, and a healthy dose of scepticism on the other must have created in the minds of those Romans, who cared to think about such matters, a rather ambiguous, and perhaps deceptive, picture. Quite probably the rosters of Nepos and of Varro and possibly also that of Atticus were the first that attempted to produce some order in the existing chaos. It is here that once again the importance of Nepos' intended middlebrow public comes to the fore. Unfortunately it is much more difficult to opine about Varro's would-be readers. One may postulate with some confidence that the production of his illustrated book was expensive and thus probably beyond the means of most of Nepos' intended public. Thus quite possibly the bias of most modern scholarship against Nepos' work also distorts its influence from the quantitative point of view. Moreover, once Nepos had brought down literature from the heights of the intellectual elite to the level of a middlebrow public, further opportunities lay open. Were there not means by which even the least educated of Romans could be brought to see and understand the history of the Republic and its deeper meaning, the inevitable conclusion of the Restored Republic?

The work of Nepos brings us down to the very beginning of the Augustan era—the Princeps is not yet Augustus but already *Imperator Divi Filius* in the second edition[86] of the *Life of Atticus* (19.2)—and it is only a few years later that another list of Roman heroes will receive Augustus' personal *imprimatur*. Even while the *Aeneis* was being composed, at a truly laborious pace, well-informed Romans knew that a great national epic was in the making.[87] Augustus' intention, that the poet should take his person and exploits as the principal theme of a great historical epos, was only partially fulfilled, though at a level of sophistication of which the Princeps could hardly have dreamt. Virgil the *vates* arranged for forebodings of Aeneas' last and greatest scion to

[86] Cf. above, n. 60.
[87] Prop. 2.34.66.

occupy a central place in crucial sections of the work—beside a number of prophetic passages, the battle of Actium as the most glorious event of Roman history engraved on the shield of Aeneas, and above all the crowning scene at the very centre of the poem with Anchises in the Elysian Fields. Here, it will be remembered, Aeneas encountered not only his last, and finest, descendants, Julius Caesar and his son (and the latter's tragically dead young nephew, son-in-law and intended heir), but also an entire gallery of Rome's greatest men, a glorious procession of the most prominent actors, and acts, of Roman history. No reader of Virgil could fail to recognise the stamp of official approval in the appearance of the Princeps in person, sanctioning the entire list with his own authorisation. Every hero included in a catalogue topped by the Princeps and his Divine Father must have been regarded as a genuine leader, whose right to be recorded among the greatest of the Republic could not be doubted. Yet one has hardly to be reminded that Virgil was above all an artist, a truly great poet, and not a propagandist in the employ of the powers that be. Artistic considerations always took first place, in the gallery of heroes as in any other passage of the *Aeneis*. The list presented to us was no doubt sincere and serious, composed with historical insight and after due reflection, but it could hardly be but a partial catalogue, displayed perhaps *exempli gratia* rather than intended to be exhaustive.[88] Nevertheless, the message could not have been lost, at least on the more attentive readers: the history of Rome had been shaped by the Julian House, Aeneas and his descendants down to Augustus, and by those heroes of the Republic who were paraded in the Elysian Fields. The combination of kings of Alba Longa, the Iulii, the kings of Rome and the heroes of the Republic is highly significant. The connexion between the vision of Anchises and the *Forum Augustum* has of course been noticed and often discussed.[89] Whatever the exact relationship and influences, suffice it for our quest that by

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[88] As a reminder the list may briefly be repeated: the Alban kings Silvius, Procas, Capys, Numitor and Silvius Aeneas, the founder Romulus with the Julian *gens* including Augustus, back to the kings of Rome Numa, Servius Tullius, Ancus and the Tarquinii with Brutus and among the heroes of the Republic the Decii, Drusi, Manlius Torquatus, Camillus, Pompey and Caesar; Cato, Cossus, the Gracchi, the Scipios, Fabricius, Regulus, Fabius Maximus, the great Marcellus and his young, recently deceased, descendant.

[89] E.g. Norden 1916, esp. 315; Rowell 1941, Degrassi 1945; Horsfall 1980; Galinsky 1996, 210–12; one should also keep in mind Horace's concluding ode (4.15): see Putnam 1986, 329–39.

now there could have been no doubt of Augustus' awareness of the need to compose a roster, on a greater, if not grander, scale than the heroes adduced in the poem, of Rome's greatest sons.

Indeed, to all appearances the idea of such a list had been in the air for some time. Horace composed his ode 1.12 (*quem virum aut heroa*) only a couple of years or so before the recitation by Virgil of *Aen.* 6, when young Marcellus was still alive.[90] Here we find juxtaposed in one strophe (33–6) Romulus, Numa and Tarquinius Superbus with perhaps the latest of the Republican heroes, Cato the Younger; these are followed by (37–42) the heroes of the Republic, Regulus, the Scauri, Aemilius Paullus, vanquished by the Carthaginian, Fabricius, Curius and Camillus, only to end with Marcellus (45–6)[91] and culminate in the last three strophes of the ode with Augustus himself.

These then were the two components of the background of Augustus' decision to launch an unprecedented programme of popular education by visual means. The relationship between the development of realistic portraiture and its proliferation in the City on the one hand, and the establishment of literary genres devoted or referring to the lives of important persons, and above all of statesmen and generals, on the other will be taken up in the next chapter as a backdrop to the programme of Augustus and its execution. It will also be seen to what extent certain influences on the programme of the Forum can be identified among the potential ones.

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[90] In fact Nisbet and Hubbard comment (145): 'Virgil's procession of great Romans owes something to our poem (viz. 1.12)', and go on to particularise their claim.

[91] It doesn't matter greatly whether we take the reference to be to Marcellus of the Hannibalic wars, as Nisbet and Hubbard, followed by D. West, would have it, with allusion only to young Marcellus, or if we take the reference as directly pointing at him, as understood by Syndicus (all comm. ad loc.); Williams 1974 reads *Marcellis* and takes the reference to point at both.

CHAPTER FOUR

A MARBLE GALLERY FOR A CITY OF MARBLE

When, and how, did the idea of a Gallery of Heroes in his Forum first occur to Augustus? This, of course, is just a part of the question of the origins of the Forum. Moreover, since the Forum and its main architectural glory, the Temple of Mars Ultor, are closely connected, it will not be prudent to consider this question in isolation. Even before discussing the issue it will be instructive to observe that there exist remarkable parallels between the *Forum Augustum* with the Temple of Mars Ultor, and the *Forum Iulium* of Julius Caesar, completed by Augustus,[1] with the Temple of Venus Genetrix, and thus a short reminder of the main facts concerning the earlier complex is in order. Already in the summer of 54 Cicero and Oppius were busy with the plans and the acquisition of land for Caesar's Forum: they thought that sixty million sesterces would be required,[2] but the eventual cost amounted to a hundred million[3]—it is a consoling thought that this sort of habitually increasing estimates is not one of the improvements of modernity. While in the case of Caesar lawful acquisition was the only available means, Augustus' insistence on a similar procedure, beside the obvious political statement of the *civilis princeps* who abides by the laws like any other citizen, also demonstrated his adherence to the precedent established by his Divine Father.[4] Evidently Caesar's Forum was already planned in order to meet the increasing needs of the expanding city—Cicero speaks of extending the forum (*ut forum laxaremus*). We do not know how far works on the project had progressed by the time Caesar vowed a temple to Venus Victrix on the eve of Pharsalus (and was then assured of its coming true in a dream).[5] As we shall see, his son either vowed a temple to Mars Ultor *bello Philippensi* or later wished it so to be believed.

[1] *RG* 20.3.
[2] Cic. *Att.* 4.16.8 with Shackleton Bailey ad loc.
[3] Suet. *Iul.* 26.2; Plin. *nh* 36.103.
[4] One would surmise that abiding by the letter of the civil law would also be a distinguishing mark of the *civilis princeps*, for whom see Wallace-Hadrill 1982. For a discussion of the importance of this issue see Haselberger 2007, 157 with n. 205.
[5] App. *bc* 2.281.

In neither case are we told how the idea to build a forum and a temple came to be linked. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in the case of Caesar the vow of the temple came a great number of years after the first steps to build a forum had been undertaken, while with Octavian, if we give credence to the story of his vow, there could not yet be a question of even contemplating the building of a new forum at the time. Caesar dedicated the temple, eventually to Venus Genetrix rather than Victrix, and opened the forum on the very same day, the last day of his triumph in 46 BCE,[6] even before the completion of the latter.[7] There is no knowing exactly what is meant by Augustus' assertion that he completed the forum of his father that was almost finished,[8] though it is surely of some significance that he did this in 29 BCE, after his own triple triumph;[9] after the initial planning of the *Forum Iulium* in the mid fifties and its opening to the public in 46 Augustus would hardly have been too dismayed by the slow progress of his own forum or too concerned about the opening to the public of a somewhat incomplete structure. Shall we ascribe all this to coincidence or are we to assume that the marked similarity was intentional, a hypothesis entirely in step with the cool, calculating mind of Augustus? Perhaps it is not too far off the mark that he, at least initially, 'conceived the entire Forum Augustum as an homage to Caesar'.[10]

Taking an oath to build a temple was a customary procedure, more often than not connected with military achievements, and its dedication was an act of religious and legal significance, delivering the building into the possession of the god in question.[11] In contrast, the construction of a secular building project such as a forum was a private act devoid of religious implications, and the legal meaning of making it public was that the property passed into the ownership of the Roman People.[12] Nevertheless, the festivities connected with the dedication of the Forum, and Dio's lost description of them, may have been extensive.[13]

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[6] Dio 43.22.1–2.
[7] Plin. *nh* 35.156.
[8] *RG* 20.3 *coepta profligataque opera...perfeci.*
[9] Dio 51.22.1.
[10] Favro 1996, 96.
[11] *OCD*[3] ss.vv. *dedicatio, votum.*
[12] *D.* 50.16.15.
[13] Swan 2004, 95. Haselberger 2007, 197 seems to be rather imprecise when speaking of the formal inauguration of the Forum, with the inauguration of the Temple as the culmination of the festivities.

We are told that the Young Caesar vowed a temple to Mars already at Philippi[14] (on the eve of the first battle, one would presume). On the other hand a multitude of sources connects the temple with the return of the military standards taken as booty by the Parthians;[15] indeed, their return in 20 BCE was treated by Augustus as a major victory,[16] and it is also narrated[17] that he caused a decree to be passed to erect a temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitol for their reception. It has been convincingly established[18] that in all probability that temple, a rather unimposing round building shown on a variety of coins,[19] had only been planned, but the project was never executed. This, again, entails the hypothesis that the abandonment of that plan was related to the new one of the much larger and more impressive temple in the forum. Thus the new plan for a larger temple to Mars Ultor close to the Forum of Caesar must have more or less coincided with the abandonment of the plan for the round structure on the Capitol, and accordingly 19 BCE is most probably about the time the new plan was born.[20] As to the vow at Philippi, one cannot claim certainty, and much of the controversy appears to make little headway. Nevertheless, it seems to me that none but the most naïve believer in Augustan self-advertisement will accept the story without reservation, while healthy scepticism will make its invention more or less coincide with the new plan for the much grander temple. The almost contemporary testimony of Ovid is of course suspicious since he probably wished to ingratiate himself by spreading the official version.[21]

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[14] Suet. *Aug.* 29.1 *aedem Martis bello Philippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto voverat*; cf. Ov. *f.* 5.569: *Voverat hoc iuvenis tunc, cum pia sustulit arma.*

[15] Already Ov. *f.* 5.579–96 couples the Parthian vengeance with the Caesarian one, see esp. 595 *rite deo templumque datum nomenque bis ulto.*

[16] *RG* 29.2, and see the sources and bibliography assembled in Spannagel 1999, 225 n. 912.

[17] Dio 54.8.3.

[18] Spannagel 1999, 62–9 with discussion and previous bibliography.

[19] Spannagel 1999, 62 nn. 300, 301.

[20] This is not at all the same as the assertion of Evans 1992, 112 n. 14: 'Augustus did not begin planning the Forum until after the Parthian standards were regained, in 20.'

[21] The proposition of Herbert-Brown 1994, 99–108 (reviving and expanding a thesis of Weinstock) that the connexion between Mars Ultor and Philippi was construed later than 12 BCE, when Augustus assumed the title of Pontifex Maximus, and possibly even later than the death of Gaius Caesar in 2 CE, is far-fetched and highly circumstantial. For the uniqueness of the detailed description of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the *Fasti* see Green 2004, 225; 236; 239.

There is no indication that the Forum was initially connected with the planned temple[22]—in contrast to the temple, no vow would be required or expected for such a secular construction, and it is a consequence of this state of affairs that we are in the dark about the conception of the forum scheme. At any rate it is a fair assumption that it was urban contingencies that necessitated the design of the Forum. The *Forum Romanum* and the *Forum Iulium* did not suffice now for the great increase in population and in judicial business; and once the Forum and Temple were finished they were also used for a variety of other functions—for example, it was in the Temple of Mars Ultor that matters of war and triumphs were decided, and triumphal *insignia* as well as standards recaptured from the enemy were deposited, and it was from here that provincial governors took their leave.[23] As stated above, we do not know exactly what Augustus' completion of the almost finished *Forum Iulium* involved, but, since that forum had been open for a generation before its final completion, the urban contingencies necessitating one more forum may have become pressing already during that time. But whatever the background of Augustus' double scheme, we must not loose sight of its importance and the innovativeness: the Forum was the only building project to bear the name of the Princeps, and the worship of Mars in the City was a bold novelty.[24]

The twenties had been a time of grandiose building schemes by Augustus, while urban improvements of a more practical nature were mostly left to the organisational talents, and very considerable fortune, of Agrippa. Now the new machinery of the state (the so-called 'First' and 'Second Settlements' of 28–27 and 23 BCE) was established and the triumphant return of the Princeps to Rome in 19 BCE was to herald the beginning of a new era, soon to be announced to all and sundry with the declaration of the new *saeculum* in 17 BCE. It was at this juncture that Augustus could turn his attention to such peaceful and presumably uncontroversial affairs as urban renovation. The need for more city space for the conduct of a variety of functions must have

[22] The dating of Cassiod. *chron.* a. 43, *MGH AA* XI p. 184.541 *(C. Pansa et A. Hirtio coss.) Caesar Octavianus forum Augustum aedificavit* must be a late conjecture connecting the two projects and the vow at Philippi (close enough in date) as fact and thus may safely be disregarded. The efforts of Spannagel 1999, 71–2 to relate the notice to the *Forum Iulium* are not only superfluous, but run in the face of the evidence of its opening in 46 BCE (Dio 43.22.1–2).

[23] Suet. *Aug.* 29.1–2; Dio 55.10.2–4.

[24] See on both points Haselberger 2007, 159–61; 197–201.

become urgent around the same time that the planned first temple to Mars was abandoned.[25] In fact the *Forum Augustum*, with the Temple of Mars Ultor, was the last and ultimate major enterprise in the rebuilding of Rome. The renovation of the temples which had become dilapidated during the generations of civil strife, the great Sundial, the Ara Pacis, the Pantheon of Agrippa, and even the construction of the Mausoleum of Augustus, to house his and his family's remains, all preceded that grand project. Nevertheless, its opening took place not less than fifteen years after the commencement of the new *saeculum*.

It seems best then to assume that the two projects of Forum and Temple were planned at more or less the same time though at separate locations, and that at a certain stage it was realised that they could be joined into one grand design. Though the exact stages of that development still elude us, the conjecture may be reiterated that the opportunity to imitate his deified father in connecting forum and temple was not far from the mind of Augustus or his advisers.[26]

Succour may be sought in two facts mentioned in connexion with the execution of the plan. First, the difficulties in acquiring the land, and the desire not to put pressure on the abutters, thus causing the Forum to be narrower than intended,[27] explicitly refer to the Forum. In fact, its eventual asymmetrical shape, with the eastern corner close to the Temple so to speak 'missing' (see fig. 1), seems to bear out Suetonius' contention—there must have been people who refused to sell their land and the Princeps, turning necessity into a virtue, seized on the opportunity and demonstrated his *civilitas* and also, perhaps, as proposed above, exhibited his following in the footsteps of the Deified Julius. However, it seems that it is the Temple rather than the Forum that was, at least visually, chiefly affected by the asymmetry. Was it, then, that Augustus decided to erect the Temple on that spot even though it became clear that the entire Forum would not have the desired rectangular shape or on the contrary, was it decided to extend the space around the Temple and construct a new forum, even if it could not

[25] Cf. Zanker 1990, 139–46; the periodisation of Favro 1996, 103–42 does not reflect the dichotomy between conspicuous and utilitarian projects.

[26] Throughout this discussion it is conceded that we do not know the respective parts played by Augustus, or his advisers (if any), in all these particular plans and actions: this is by no means to be taken as disagreeing with the brilliant thesis of Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 14 on *mutatio morum*, especially in regard to the Princeps' employment of antiquarians.

[27] Suet. *Aug.* 56.2.

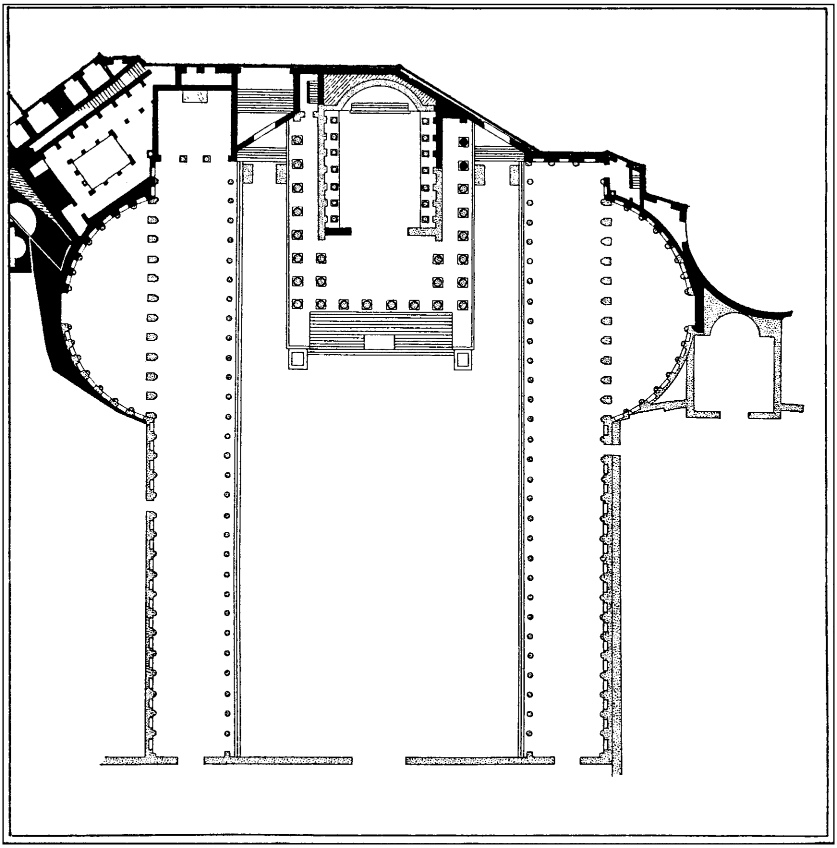

Fig. 1. Plan of the *Forum Augustum*. Note the asymmetrical shape at the eastern corner of the Temple of Mars Ultor.

be assured that it would acquire the required shape? Since it was the Forum that was by far the larger and since it was no doubt desirable to construct it abutting the newly completed Forum of Caesar[28] and in the vicinity of the *Forum Romanum*, while there were no territorial constraints on the avowed temple, it seems to me best to assume that the plan for the round temple on the Capitol was abandoned when it was realised that a far more prestigious building could be erected on the place designed for a new forum. Accordingly one should place the planning of the forum at some time between the opening of the *Forum Iulium* and the abandonment of the old plan for the temple on the Capitol in 19 BCE, probably closer to the latter date.

The other piece of evidence that may be relevant concerns the length of time required for the execution of the plan, and it again expressly refers to the Forum.[29] Nevertheless, one wonders whether perhaps the entire complex was meant: certainly the notice about opening the Forum before concluding work on the Temple[30] implies that it was the latter whose completion lasted inordinately long. Still, considering the swiftness with which some projects were executed in the very same age—not long after 12 BCE the private person C. Cestius needed just 330 days to complete his pyramid[31]—we are absolutely in the dark as to why some seventeen years or so have elapsed between its first conception and the opening of the Temple of Mars Ultor.

Thus, unfortunately, neither of these details concerning the construction of Temple and Forum is sufficient to solve our problem with anything approaching certainty. Moreover, even if it were known exactly when Augustus decided on the construction of his Forum, we still would not know anything concerning his decision to adorn it with the Gallery of Heroes: after all, we have seen that it was the contingencies of Rome's urban development that necessitated the building of the Forum, and its decoration with statues may well have been a later part of the plan or even an afterthought, and even more so the exact intention and scheme of that decoration. At any rate, it seems a reasonable assumption that the idea of the galleries of statues was

[28] In addition to the self-evident practical considerations, one also has to consider that the fora of Caesar and Augustus were planned not only as adjoining, but also to a considerable extent comparable in layout.

[29] Macr. *sat.* 2.4.9.

[30] Suet. *Aug.* 29.1.

[31] *CIL* VI 1375 = *ILS* 917[a].

only developed once the general outlines and size of the Forum at least became clear. On the other hand the opposite possibility, that the idea of a Gallery of Heroes existed in an embryonic shape in the mind of Augustus and only waited for the opportunity to take a definite form and find an appropriate location, cannot be dismissed even though it looks much less likely. In any event it cannot be known whether the planning of the sculptural adornment preceded the idea of placing the Temple in the Forum or came later.

How are we then to harmonise such a plan with the insight that the idea to join Forum and Temple must have occurred after the abandonment of the design of the round temple on the Capitol? As for the Temple, two dates are at issue, the date of the vow and that of the dedication. The latter is the easier, since it has been shown[32] that there is no good reason to doubt the contemporary Ovid, supported by much circumstantial evidence, in assigning it to May 12. In any case the problem, if there in truth ever existed one, concerns only the exact date, while the year, 2 BCE, was never in doubt. It is more difficult to establish the date of the vow, presumably the first envisioning of the idea. In all fairness, there exist no factual underpinnings, in contrast to general considerations rooted in an assessment of Augustus' character and conduct, for the scepticism aired above as to the vow at Philippi, yet let it be stated clearly: who would contradict Augustus, or utter a doubt about his veracity, if he first told about his vow, say, when negotiations with the Parthians concerning the return of the standards reached a promising stage?

In the preceding chapter reference was made to the connexion between Augustus' Gallery of Heroes and the processions of Roman grandees in Virgil's Elysian Fields and in poems of Horace—a retrospective evaluation of the heroes of the Republic may well be attributed to the *Zeitgeist*. Even if the Princeps' authoritative and definitive roll-call was influenced, if not prompted, by these poetical versions, or indeed the *Zeitgeist*, we would still be left with a rather vague dating to the twenties—after all, it is only the final version of the sixth book of the *Aeneis* and its recitation to the family of that unfortunate youth that can be dated by the death of Marcellus.[33] Yet one may mention the temptation, without necessarily yielding to it, of noticing the relative closeness of a likely date for the Gallery towards the end of the twen-

[32] Simpson 1977; Spannagel 1999, 41–59.
[33] Don. *Vita Verg.* 32.

ties and the equally speculative dating of the idea of a temple to Mars Ultor at around the same time.

Be all these considerations as they may, Augustus dedicated the Temple of Mars Ultor in 2 BCE, after the entire piazza had already been open for business some three years earlier. It was to be the final, crowning, glory of the renewal and transformation of the city under the Princeps. Though the Forum was to serve practical purposes and came to answer real urban needs, its impressive architecture—according to an informed observer[34] one of the most beautiful buildings in the world—was to become a prime monument of the Augustan Age, in fact its last grand project to be completed, advertising its values to present users and viewers as well as to the future population of the city. The Temple of Mars the Avenger is of course duly appreciated in this context,[35] and the *quadriga* in the centre of the piazza bearing an inscription to the Father of his Country, though unfortunately leaving no archaeological traces behind, was given appropriate prominence by the Princeps himself.[36] In addition to these two features the main component of the Forum was rows of statues along the semi-circular[37] halls and porticoes on either side, devoted to the Iulii led by Aeneas and to the great men of the Republic led by Romulus, respectively.[38] The statues carried inscriptions, each a *titulus* and an *elogium* (fig. 2);[39] the part of Augustus in composing these will be discussed somewhat later. They were of marble,[40] and provisions were made to add statues of bronze to those whose future services to the state would equal those of the heroes of old.[41] As will be seen, these literary witnesses are borne out by archaeological and epigraphic evidence, and it is possible to

[34] Plin. *nh* 36.102.

[35] See Kockel 1983; Ganzert, Kockel et al. 1988; Siebler 1988; Ganzert 1996; Newlands 1995, 87–123; Barchiesi 2002.

[36] *RG* 35.1.

[37] I shall follow throughout the common usage and refer, not quite accurately, to these sections of the circle as semi-circles.

[38] Ov. *f.* 5.563–6; Suet. *Aug.* 31.5; *SHA Alex.* 28.6.

[39] *CIL* I^2 p. 187; *InscrIt.* XIII.3 p. 4.

[40] *SHA Alex.* 28.6. Even for men for whom bronze statues were available these were replaced by marble ones: e.g. Plut. *Brut.* 1.1 tells us about the bronze statue of Brutus among those of the seven kings on the Capitol, cf. Hölscher 1978, 330. The seven kings were to have their marble statues with the heroes of the Republic in the Forum of Augustus (see below, ch. 5). For a discussion of bronze and marble see above, ch. 2.

[41] Suet. *Aug.* 31.5; Dio 55.10.3; Zanker 1968, 15 misses this point when he thinks of the bronze statues as standing in the intercolumniations, apparently without regard to the chronological differentiation. Beard and Henderson 2001, 174 mistakenly take Dio to speak of bronze statues at inauguration; correctly Anderson 1984, 82.

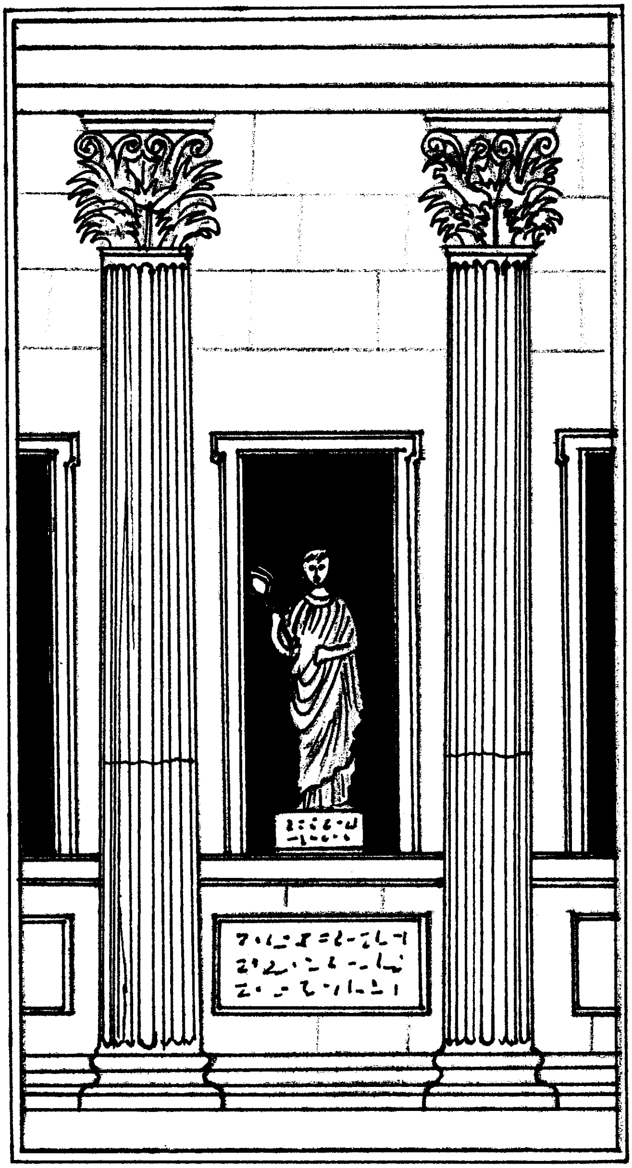

Fig. 2. Drawing of a statue in the *Forum Augustum* with *titulus* and *elogium*. After Degrassi.

combine all these various testimonies to arrive at a somewhat clearer picture of the key features of Augustus' arrangement.

To add to the many factors unknown and unknowable to us, we are ignorant at what stage it dawned on Augustus that the sculptural programme of his Forum could be turned into a grand design of providing his, that is the official, version of the summing-up of Roman history, and a means of educating the Roman public—or else, was it that such a grand design had been maturing within him for some time and only waited for the appropriate setting? Was the content and aim of the Gallery of Heroes born together with its form? Be this as it may, we are accustomed to recognising such a summing-up in Livy's history and perhaps above all in the *Aeneis*, where some of the main events of Rome's wonderful progress from the Fall of Troy to the crowning glory at the Battle of Actium are alluded to. It does not take an exceptionally insightful reader of Virgil to appreciate that the protagonist named in the title has a counterpart, the two sharing the burden of Rome's destiny at the beginning and at the final stage of her history. The relationships between Augustus and Livy and Augustus and Virgil are of course far from neglected subjects, and the reflexion of the work of these writers on Augustus is certainly a long way from being the least of the concerns of students of the age. But Augustus is himself within our direct reach in his *Res Gestae*. Yet, whatever the exact genesis of that work,[42] eventually it was given to the public only after the death of the Princeps, having been last revised only in the preceding year, thus allowing its readers to reflect on the author's unequalled achievements only in retrospect—and who would then assure us that there would not be different views and evaluations, say like those envisaged by Tacitus? Yet these achievements spoke for themselves in his lifetime—and were made to speak for their author's intentions. It is thus of no little interest to notice what a considerable portion of his achievements his building programme constituted.[43]

For, indeed, the medium chosen to communicate the ideas of Augustus was a medium suited to much broader segments of the population than those that could be reached by the means of literary works, even

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[42] For the latest contribution to the controversy see Ramage 1988.

[43] Favro 1996; see the list in *RG* 19–21.2 and *App.* 2–3; see also 11; 12.2; 23; 24.2; 33.1, and cf. also the instructive words of Vitr. *praef.* 2: *te*... *curam*... *habere de opportunitate publicorum aedificiorum, ut civitas per te non solum provinciis esset aucta, verum etiam ut maiestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum egregies haberet auctoritates.*

if eventually elevated to the status of national epic. Livy's history became, as far as its popular reception and response was concerned, a failure. It collapsed under its own weight[44] since no one but scholars could master its bulk, and it soon had to be replaced by abbreviated versions. As for the *Aeneis*, it did indeed become the national epic, thus suffering the fate of such works—being used, and abused, as a primer for schoolchildren. The graffiti in Pompeii and surprising finds at the northern and eastern edges of the Empire[45] attest to the spread of the poem, but not necessarily to the propagation or to the appreciation of its more sophisticated messages. Even though I regard Harris' estimate of Roman literacy as overtly pessimistic, there can be no denying that highly sophisticated literary works were, as seems to be the rule at all times, out of the reach of the great majority of the population.

The building programme of Augustus, like other ambitious undertakings of long-lived rulers, was meant both to serve practical ends and to advertise the grandeur and achievements of the regime. The Ara Pacis, the Mausoleum, the Sundial, not to mention the host of renovated and newly built temples, all had messages to deliver, some more simple and straightforward, others with more complex statements.[46] So too the Forum of Augustus, though built for practical purposes and in the first place constructed so as to provide solutions for urgent urban problems, also announced some of the central ideas of the new regime. The Temple of Mars Ultor, situated at the end of the Forum as if reigning over it, bore witness both to the divine descent of the Princeps and to his long arm, capable of reaching the enemies of his Divine Father and of the Republic and taking appropriate vengeance on them; the *quadriga* of the *Pater Patriae* posited in the centre of the piazza was the apposite symbol of the gratitude of an entire people—the people ruling the entire inhabited world—to whom all thanks for the present blessings were due.[47] The message of the Gallery of Heroes in the Forum was far more elaborate and of course far more detailed.

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[44] One is reminded of the expression *mole ruit sua* (Hor. *c.* 3.4.65), and see for the commonplace Oakley on Livy 7.9.2 and additions in vol. IV 561.

[45] Bowman and Thomas 1994, 65, no. 118; Cotton and Geiger 1989, no. 721.

[46] See Zanker 1990. Eventually these statements, and Augustus' claims for the reward of apotheosis, were spelled out in the *Res Gestae*, see Bosworth 1999; on the Mausoleum see Davies 2000, esp. 13–19.

[47] Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 98.2, and see also Ov. *f.* 2.120–48 (non. febr.), esp. 127 *Sancte pater patriae*... 130 *iam pridem tu pater orbis eras*... 132 *hominum tu pater, ille deum*... etc.

As we have seen, at a certain date Augustus wished people to believe that he had vowed a temple to Mars the Avenger already at the time of the battle of Philippi, and that eventually the Temple was to fulfil the double function of commemorating the avenging of the father of the Princeps as well as of the defeat of Crassus and the capture of the Roman standards by the Parthians.[48] As it happened, the vow was fulfilled only forty years after the notional date, in 2 BCE, when the Temple of Mars Ultor, forming the north-eastern flank of the *Forum Augustum*, was dedicated. The Forum itself, eagerly awaited to provide space for a variety of activities, had been made accessible to the public some time earlier, perhaps already in 5 BCE, when the eldest of the Princeps' grandsons, adopted sons and heirs designate came of age.[49] But even postulating a relatively late date for the decision to build the Forum and allowing time for its design, its completion still took an inordinately long period. Given the almost feverish building activity of the Princeps in Rome, this delay cannot be explained simply by the importance and sheer size of the project. Though formidable technical obstacles were to be surmounted—Augustus' insistence on building his forum on private ground[50] does not necessarily contradict attempts to acquire land to make the site more extensive—the delay may well have had reasons more deeply anchored in the final program of the Princeps.

The dedication of the Temple of Mars in the year when the Princeps, now over sixty, was consul for the thirteenth (and, as it turned out, last) time so that he could introduce in this capacity the younger of his intended heirs must have appeared to all Romans as the final and crowning act of a most significant period in their history. Nor is it of little consequence that the dedication took place in a year of deep crisis in the Imperial family and the state.[51] Since the Forum had been opened to the public three years before the dedication of the Temple, when Augustus as consul for the twelfth and penultimate time saw the elder of his designated heirs assume the *toga virilis*, the entire three-year period could be viewed as the seal and coronation of his grand epoch. The haste in concluding the first stage of the entire design must be

[48] I am utterly unconvinced by the contention of Scheid 1992, 127 that there was a threefold vengeance expressed in the Forum, including the victory over Antony.

[49] See discussion in Spannagel 1999, 15–29.

[50] *RG* 21.1 *in privato solo*.

[51] Syme 1984; Kienast 1999, 129–36.

seen in light of the uncertainty of reaching the final one. Augustus, now (in Roman terms) an old man, and on the eve of his climacteric sixty-third year, no doubt intended to sum up the achievements of his life and already unprecedentedly long rule.[52] Thus the actions of the period running up to that 'memorable year',[53] the two last and briefly held, sole-purpose consulates, the presenting of the two young princes to the public, and above all the final monument named after him in the centre of the city, with the chariot dedicated to the newly so named Father of his Country at its very centre,[54] cannot but be seen from the perspective of the summing-up of an old man with an unmatched and incomparable career.[55] We tend to think of the *Res Gestae* as an appraisal presented by Augustus, but that appraisal was intended (and indeed to a great degree achieved its intention) for posterity. Not only the very wording of the text testifies to this, but above all the position of the two bronze pillars with the inscription in front of the Mausoleum bears witness to the fact that the résumé of Augustus' career was to be made public only after his bodily remains had been interred in their final resting place. Of course in the meantime his accomplishments were everywhere and always to be seen, but it still needed the experienced guiding hand of Augustus to lead the citizens of Rome properly to appreciate these attainments, and above all to see them against the proper historical background and in the right perspective.

It is tempting to construe a close connexion between the inauguration of the Forum and one of the most momentous—perhaps the most momentous—slogans of the regime. What indeed could be closer to the Restoration of the Republic than its visualisation by way of its heroes, the men who by their virtues and deeds had made it great? The Gallery of Heroes is essentially the Parade of the Republic Restored. In retrospect Augustus assigned the transfer of his powers to Senate and People to the years 28 and 27 BCE,[56] but it is more difficult to discern

[52] For Augustus' attitude to that critical occasion see his letter to his grandson Gaius, quoted by Gell. 15.7.3, in which he looks forward to his sixty-fourth birthday, having evaded *κλιμακτῆρα communem seniorum omnium tertium et sexagesimum annum.*

[53] The phrase of Syme 1984, 921 (= 1974, 15).

[54] *RG* 35.1.

[55] Also the connexion between the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor and the impending departure of young Gaius Caesar to the East must have been an important consideration, see Herbert-Brown 1994, 102–8.

[56] *RG* 34.1: *In consulatu sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia extinxeram, per consensum universorum potens rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli.*

whether the events were seen in such a light by contemporaries or whether indeed they were presented to them in this shape at the time. In fact, it may be argued that the phrase *re publica conservata* attested in 29 BCE[57] is to be contrasted, rather than equated, with *res publica restituta*—it looks back to the office of the *triumviri rei publicae constituendae* rather than forward to the new regime. More difficult to assess is the important *aureus* of 28 BCE with the legend LEGES ET IURA P(opulo) R(omano) RESTITUIT.[58] First, this inscription explains the reference in the *Res Gestae* to the sixth and seventh consulates, and it now seems clear that, whatever our interpretation, we are not dealing with a one-step event of January 27.[59] In fact I think it will be correct to argue that the specific steps taken in 28 and 27 BC were formulated in the *Res Gestae* as the more general claim only in retrospect. Whatever the currency of the *aureus*—and by its very nature it must have been quite restricted—it surely cannot be regarded as a message *urbi et orbi*.[60] When was the general claim for the Restoration of the Republic first given wide currency?

In the next decade the Secular Games would have provided a good opportunity for a dramatic announcement, or, if indeed the phrase had been invented earlier, for its dissemination: there is no hint of anything of the sort in Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* or in the inscription describing the Games.[61] So we are left with Augustus himself. As for him, it has been convincingly argued that 2 BCE was the year of the all but final redaction of his *Achievements*[62] and thus it is an attractive proposition to link the two major retrospective acts as of a piece, and to see in them manifestations of the same idea in different media: it is in 2 BCE that Augustus' slogan of the Restitution of the Republic is attested and it is in that same year that its visual presentation to the Roman public took place.

Outside Augustus' own version of events, the first occurrence of the slogan is in the so-called *Laudatio Turiae*.[63] The date of the inscription is debated. Mommsen had already assigned it to *c.* 3 BCE, and for a long time a date between 8 and 2 BCE was the *communis opinio*,

57 *ILS* 81.

58 Rich and Williams 1999 is the definitive discussion, albeit the coin has been known for some years previously.

59 See the discussion of Millar 2000, 4–7, though my interpretation differs from his.

60 See the discussion of Rich and Williams 1999, esp. 204–12.

61 *ILS* 5050.

62 Syme 1986, 88–90; cf. id. 1984, 920 (= 1974, 13).

63 *CIL* VI 41062 = 1527 = *ILS* 8393, II l. 25: *pacato orbe terrarum, restituta re publica*…

though this has changed now, not without some cautious reservations, to a time somewhat predating 9 BCE.[64] It seems to me that even if the earlier date for the *Laudatio* is accepted it may have taken some time before the phrase took root—the *laudator*, even if not identical with Q. Lucretius Vespillo, cos. 19 BCE, seems to have been a favourite of Augustus or at any rate close to him and thus likely to be among the first to spread it. It may have gained common currency with the death of Augustus and the positioning of the *Res Gestae* in Rome and its copies elsewhere,[65] but visually the Restored Republic was exhibited already in 2 BCE. And for the present discussion indeed it is this last point that is crucial: even for those students of the period who reject the above interpretation and regard the sixth and seventh consulates of the Princeps as the time when the slogan of the Restoration of the Republic was first made public[66] the visual representation of this step in the *Forum Augustum* in 2 BCE would not lose much of its force.

The First Citizen had restored the Republic, but his achievement could be appreciated only within the wider context of the development of Roman history. The general outlines of that history have now become a matter of consensus. The virtuous deeds of the Romans of olden times had made the Republic great; the decline started when no external enemy could threaten her and when the failure of virtues and the growth of vices brought about internal strife and eventually civil war.[67] The Princeps had saved the Republic from its fratricidal course and while restoring peace also restored the ancient virtues. No proper appreciation of the achievements of the new Golden Age was possible without this historical perspective. No doubt it was to be provided by that truly extraordinary gathering of poets and writers patronised by the Princeps and by his right-hand man Maecenas. In the *Aeneis* Virgil made a direct connection between Rome's founding hero and its pres-

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[64] See *CIL* VI 41062 = 1527 (G. Alföldy and P. Kruschwitz) with full bibliography on p. 4904.

[65] In the later years of Augustus and under Tiberius the catchword was presented both in official documents (*Fasti Praenestini* for 13 January 27, *InscrIt.* XIII.2 p. 113 = Ehrenberg-Jones p. 45: *[rem publicam] p. R. restitui[t]*) (but see the alternative restoration offered as 'pure speculation' by Millar 2000, 6: *[quod leges et iura] p. R. rest[it]u[it]*) and in historical works, Vell. Pat. 2.89.4: *prisca illa et antiqua forma rei publicae revocata.*

[66] It has been suggested to me that the slogan of the Restitution of the Republic was not necessarily a one-time action, but that it had possibly been aired from time to time only to receive final sanction in the *Res Gestae*. I am indebted to Alex Yakobson for discussing this entire issue with me.

[67] See e.g. Earl 1967, 17–20.

ent ruler, after prophesying a new Golden Age already in the *Eclogues* and singing the praise of the restorer of the Italian countryside in the *Georgics*. Horace proclaimed in the *Carmen Saeculare* the rebirth of virtues, still viewed a few years earlier pessimistically, in the unheard-of form of a cycle of lyric poetry of the *Römeroden*.[68] Livy had of course reviewed the whole of Roman history from the perspective of the tension between the virtues of old and the devastation of the last generations, as was so clearly set out already in his *praefatio*.

As we know, these artistic attempts to announce the new age and give it its due historical perspective had started long before the completion, and for all we know long before the planning, of the *Forum Augustum*. In 17 BCE the Secular Games were celebrated, announcing the intentions of the Princeps to the widest possible public. The New Age was to be inaugurated for all Romans, maybe even for the entire population of the city, its glory shared by all and sundry—no doubt each according to his station in life and society. The elation over the final cessation of external and internal dangers to the state—and to a large degree to the individual—was to be general and celebrated in common. It cannot be doubted that the success of the Games was great, but they were a unique event, confined in time and space, and only grasped in retrospect by the presumably few elite readers of Horace's *Carmen*. Other manifestations of the New Age were more specific and of a more restricted nature. The message of the Ara Pacis Augustae embraced only certain aspects of the epoch, if indeed their deeply symbolic and somewhat veiled message was not lost on most spectators (who, in fact, would have to take time off their leisure activities in the Campus Martius in order to contemplate the scenes carved on its walls)—after all, we cannot be sure that large sections of the Roman public had the intellectual equipment to appreciate fully, perhaps only in one visit, what modern scholars have been struggling with for generations. The Mausoleum of Augustus with the statue of the Princeps on its top proclaimed indeed the unparalleled greatness of Rome's First Citizen. But this was a statement without context, a declaration of a state of affairs only.

It is often asserted, and on the whole with great justification, that the history of the ancient world is a history of the upper classes. No doubt this was true for the Roman Republic even more than for the

[68] Cf. Galinsky 1996, 104–5, but see also the reservations concerning the cycle in the commentary of Nisbet and Rudd (2004), xx–xxi.

poleis of Classical Greece. Nevertheless of late the question of the significance of mass participation in the political process has received a new urgency. If the competition for votes in the Republic was as fierce as we are now led to believe,[69] then the diverse displays of aristocratic domination and achievement were not only ends in themselves, but also served the purpose of perpetuating the political power of the houses of the nobility. The various actions and the exhibition of artefacts which we are wont to subsume under the name of propaganda displayed the disparate initiatives of a great variety of forces that participated in the political process, and thus showed a characteristic aspect of the culture of the Republic.

If the political role of the plebs under the Republic remains a bone of contention, its part under the new regime is even more difficult to assess. Did the greatly increased influence of the Princeps on elections[70] eliminate the importance of the plebs in the new structure of the state? Did Augustus' emphasis on the morals and civic display of the senatorial and equestrian classes in his marriage laws reveal a lack of interest in the doings of the mass of citizens? Was the concern for the Roman plebs exhausted in caring for those necessities that were meant to keep them content, *panem et circenses*?

It seems to me that there is more to the relationship of Plebs and Princeps than meets the eye at first sight.[71] Certainly the extensive and emphatic display of the enumeration of Augustus' benefactions on behalf of the People of Rome in his *Res Gestae* testifies to the importance he accorded this subject. But his care for the people went far beyond the free distribution of food and money, occasional presents and the provisions for entertainments. Under the Republican regime a multitude of versions of Roman history, or rather episodes from it, and views about its heroes, were disseminated in the interest of the various families of the nobility and the contingencies of the Republican electoral process. As we have seen (above, ch. 3), the few often repeated and well-known episodes of history that served the orators as *exempla* were never assembled in a purposeful arrangement. In truth, as we well know, even the educated elite never benefited from an organised study of history as part of its curriculum. Now it was time to educate

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[69] See Yakobson 1999.
[70] See, e.g., Eder 1990, 115–16, and for some reservations Galsterer 1990, 12–13.
[71] For an overview see Yavetz 1969.

the Plebs, and in fact the entire population of the City, and instruct it in the one correct version of this history, the only interpretation that could explain the tortuous path that led it hither and had it in its power to explain why the present state of affairs was not only the happiest imaginable[72] but also the only one truly feasible. The story of the rise of the city to world dominance could not be left in the hands of those who would manipulate it for their own selfish interests. Thus an authorised version of Roman history was required, one easily accessible and comprehensible to all. The elements of such a version provided by the writers and poets were deficient on two counts.

We have mentioned above that the products of elite literature could hardly be relied on to penetrate the deepest layers of the populace. These literary works were even more defective on a second count, one that was likely to affect those who read them. Though one does not have to doubt the overall sincerity of Virgil, Horace or Livy in praising the regime, there are good reasons for not regarding them as propagandists, mere mouthpieces for it. Thus, not only were these versions—or at least those of the poets—highly partial and selective, exhibiting a far from full picture, but they could not be relied on in all details. Augustus may have been tolerant enough in calling Livy *Pompeianus noster*,[73] in jest or perhaps rebuking him more seriously than we can realise now, but who can doubt that he accorded some importance to ensuring that the great rival of his Divine Father (and in the view of some modern critics, the source of precedents for some of the Princeps' titles and actions) should not be evaluated in a way fundamentally different from that which the Princeps found to be correct? Eventually, as we shall see (ch. 5), he may well have assigned Pompey a place in his Hall of Fame—but then the decision was his, not that of some armchair historian. Be this as it may, burning books may emerge at a later stage in the development of certain regimes—first it must be ascertained that the sanctioned alternatives are prepared well ahead of time. (This is of course not to say that in all cases where the authorised version is presented to the public the elimination of the rival interpretations has already been contemplated.)

Thus Augustus produced a version of Roman history that was both attractively accessible to the greatest possible number of citizens, and

[72] See the words of Augustus in Suet. *Aug.* 28.2.
[73] Tac. *a.* 4.34.

also presented to them the one correct rendition of events. It was to be an history whose moral would not be lost on anybody. Its function to instruct and to teach the appropriate lessons for the future was not to be left to chance, but it was to be expressed in a clearly comprehensible manner. In order to be effective and instantly intelligible (and perhaps in any case no alternatives presented themselves to Roman minds), it could not diverge from the well-trodden path of *mores* and *viri*, but the choice of these was to be made in the most careful fashion. The importance of the emphatic position of *virisque* in the verse of Ennius must have impressed itself on his mind very quickly:[74] once the *viri* have been chosen, they would be displayed with their *mores* as a matter of course. Most importantly, Augustus was to learn what every historian finds out sooner or later, that the choice of subject matter and the elimination of material he finds unsuitable are perhaps his most momentous decisions. The central position of the Julian House, from the Trojan Prince to the Princeps, was to be given its due, but also all the other worthies, and worthy deeds, of Republican history were to be appropriately recorded. The privileged position of the Iulii would come into view even more clearly against a background that would compare them with all the other houses of privilege of the Republic.

The creation of the Augustan cultural environment was not the work of a single man, or even of a chancery, nor executed by Imperial *fiat* to fit a well-designed plan.[75] Even in modern totalitarian regimes it seems fairly probable that more often than not propaganda[76] is the product of the anxious desire of the various strata of party or state bureaucracy to conjecture the wishes of the Highest Authority rather than compliance with orders handed down by a well-organised line of command. Needless to say, tyrants, benevolent or otherwise, are not inevitably less prone to be inspired by their subjects than the rest of us are likely to be affected by our fellows. The conclusion that the final choice of heroes

[74] I would not care to guess whether Augustus has read Ennius, but am more confident about his consulting Cicero's *de re publica*, where the verse was quoted (August. *civ. dei* 2.21)—and of course acquaintance with famous quotes from works which have not been read cannot be an innovation of modern times.

[75] Galinsky 1996, 121; Zanker 1990, e.g. (and elsewhere) 102: 'The princeps would need the help and cooperation of many.'

[76] This is true also for matters much more serious than propaganda. The most hideous example of course is the Wannsee Conference, deciding on the methodical murder of European Jewry: there was no need for an express command of the Führer to design a plan that would execute perfectly what was perceived by his underlings as the designs of his feverish imagination.

of the *Forum Augustum* was made by the Princeps in person should in no way contradict our assumption of a variety of influences on that choice, such as the taking of expert advice.[77]

Yet, whatever its pre-history and genesis, above all the Forum would have to be a monument to the man whose name it bore. The Ara Pacis Augustae underscored the religious aspect of the achievement of the new era, giving the Princeps and his family their proper position at the centre of solemn activity. The Mausoleum with the statue of Augustus on the top was yet to receive the remains of the Princeps, and his *Res Gestae* were yet to be set up in front of the monument, awaiting a final revision, only after his death: they were to tell the spectator nothing beyond the unequalled greatness of Augustus and of his exploits. (Admittedly, no trifling matters.) Both these monuments were erected outside the main urban centre, in the Campus Martius, and one of them was of posthumous value only. Their very nature was such that, at least as far as the great majority of the population was concerned, they did not invite or even provide opportunity for detailed and relaxed inspection. Certainly they were not connected with any activity in which the Roman citizen could participate other than, at most, pensive contemplation. What is more, both could be viewed by the cynic—and who will deny that such must have existed in the sophisticated society of Rome, and perhaps even among the urban proletariat, about whose state of mind we know little—as monuments of self-aggrandisement, of the will of the ruler to appear in the guise chosen by himself before his subjects. The Forum would have as its centre-piece the very expression of how the citizens of Rome regarded their First Citizen. (Or at least Augustus could hope that the monument would be so perceived.) It was the Senate of Rome that had named him Father of his Country,[78] and an appropriate monument—the *quadriga* of victory—so inscribed was to stand in the middle of the large piazza, to watch over the daily hustle and bustle, but also over the more solemn proceedings taking place in the Forum. Perhaps the shrewdest part of the plan was to erect the complex not as a monument only to be viewed, but as a vivacious

[77] See above, n. 26.

[78] I am far from certain in the exact interpretation of the phrase: at the time of Cicero *patria* still surely referred to Rome, while after the oath of *tota Italia*, and also the provinces of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicilia and Sardinia (*RG* 25.2), one is tempted to give it the widest possible interpretation, and cf. also Ov. *f.* 2.130 *iam pridem tu pater orbis eras*.

centre for a great number of activities designed to attract the citizens as a matter of course. Moreover, even if you happened to be in the Campus Martius—which was perhaps not all that often and probably not as a matter of course for many of the inhabitants of Rome—you could still walk by the Ara Pacis and the Mausoleum without paying much attention to their form and perhaps even less so to their intended message. Not so the Forum. As we have seen, it was to satisfy real needs and thus no special steps had to be taken to ensure the racket of everyday life. The recently published documents that testify to the ordinary use of the Forum for everyday purposes by quite lowly placed citizens, referring as a matter of course to its statues, date to the reign of Claudius,[79] but there is absolutely no reason to doubt that such uses must have become common very soon after the opening of the Forum to the public. The thought should not be dismissed out of hand that one of the reasons for the present plan was dissatisfaction with, or at least uncertainty about, the reaction to the messages of the earlier monuments.

Temple and Forum with *quadriga* were to serve the needs of the populace and the functions of the Imperial city, to repay the long-standing vow of the Princeps, and to proclaim his position among his people. Still, all this grand design did not deviate in any real sense from the great projects of other rulers of the ancient world and did not add a truly novel notion to existing ideas. In fact, up to this point there had been no significant difference between the Forum of Augustus and that of his Divine Father, completed by him some years earlier. The great innovation of the Forum was its Hall of Fame, the Gallery of Heroes.

The idea of the Hall of Fame may also have been inspired, or at least influenced, by an urban contingency. As we have seen (ch. 3), the cityscape was sown with statues of a great number of Roman nobles, not to mention the statues of gods and the various Greek works of art that had been brought as booty or otherwise to Rome. All this aggregation, the accumulation from a long series of diverse historical events, was scattered over the city without rhyme or reason, or so at least it must have appeared to the casual beholder. The reconstruction of Rome by Augustus included of course not only the restoration of dilapidated public buildings and the erection of new ones, but also a total reorganisation of urban space, removal of decay and a restruc-

[79] Camodeca 1999.

turing of the entire area of the public spaces of the city. Clearly the disorderly state of Roman statuary had to change: statues had to be removed, regimented, or both. It is here that the solution involving the new Forum must have occurred to Augustus—or to somebody near to him. We are also told that Augustus had the statues from the Capitol removed to the Campus Martius.[80] It has been suggested that lack of space was only a secondary reason, the main motivation being that this disorderly accumulation did not conform with the programme of his Forum. It may have been typical for Augustus to remove, rather than reuse, these statues.[81]

'The Organization of Opinion'[82] was an aptly chosen chapter-heading conceived in the heyday of Goebbels. Yet present-day 'public opinion' is formed by Madison Avenue no less (even if somewhat less brutally)—though of course to quite different effects—than that of Germany in the thirties was formed by the Nuremberg Rallies, nor is the production of adoration for a loving, all-knowing and all but omnipotent 'Sun of the Nations' or of detestation of assorted sub-humans basically different from the construction of the present-day adoration of pop-stars and a variety of 'celebrities' or the implanting of deep abhorrence from such truly inhuman enormities as dandruff or hirsute female armpits. We have seen it all, yet we are also unable to free ourselves completely from the shackles restraining us in the bonds of the society of which we form part. Moreover, the limits of the manipulation of our minds are a matter of deep disagreement between holders of different attitudes to the various forces in society. Many people who clearly see advertisements and overt political propaganda for what they are will none the less readily accept sermons, history lessons or national anthems at their face value. Others again will draw the line between what they regard as acceptable, 'objective' teaching or education and 'biased' influence seeking to gain control over our minds. A museum will be regarded as educational by most people if it answers to certain accepted (by them) standards of objectivity and its absence of bias is recognised by them, but they will regard it as a tool of propaganda if it fails to show the different sides of a question as they see it and will guide the spectator to a pre-established goal without providing him with

[80] Suet. *Cal.* 34.1.
[81] Lahusen 1983, 11.
[82] Syme 1939, ch. 30.

the means to make a real choice. The worship of 'fact' all too often fails well-meaning members of the public because of the elusiveness of the meaning of the term.

All this is highly relevant to our accurate understanding of Antiquity. Can we honestly assert that we are properly transferring the sophisticated vocabulary of our age, laboriously won after sacrificing on the altars of a great variety of false idols, some of them armed with Oscars, others with machine-guns or infallible formulae to lose weight or not to lose hair? Of course, we have seen the advertisements and political propaganda on the walls of Pompeii, but can these be judged appropriately in the terms of our age? Why should we discard the great truth so well taught by Goebbels, that it is the quantitative aspect, the endless repetition of a slogan that will render a falsehood true to its listeners? Is it not a false analogy to regard as Propaganda and Organisation of Opinion high-quality poetry read by but a few, and these few the most sophisticated, and one may presume perhaps the most sceptical, segment of society? How many of the readers of the *Aeneis* will have properly grasped most of its many layers, and how many of these will have regarded the message without suspicion? And are we to disregard entirely the attitude of the disseminators of certain views as to their truth or otherwise?

Of course, after Goebbels and in the age of Madison Avenue it is but too easy to apply the term propaganda to any concerted effort aiming at influencing public opinion. However, the matter at stake is of more than mere semantic significance—not that semantics should be made light of. There seems to exist, beyond the level of rhetoric and polemics, a basic difference between education and propaganda—the first dealing with facts and values, the second with opinions. Needless to say, the difference is far from being clear-cut: successful propaganda manages to proclaim its notions and opinions as facts, presented for the education of the ignorant and ill-advised. (Basically the same is true of advertisement—a form of propaganda with purely economic, as opposed to political or social, aims.) Nevertheless, it is not impossible to separate the factual material with an educational purpose (where it exists) from the purely propagandist opinions directed to achieve certain aims.[83] In our very concrete case of the Forum of Augustus the

[83] In propaganda the factual can sometimes be separated from the notional: Imp. Caesar Divi f. as a name is surely proclaiming undisputed facts (as they may have been

separation is not only easy, but even necessary if we are to understand the impact of the assemblage on its viewers. No doubt the gathering of the *summi viri* of the Republic together, opposite the ancestors of the Julian house and in proximity to the Temple of Mars Ultor, had very strong propagandistic motifs—and, for the sake of the argument, one may accept that these propagandistic motifs were in the forefront of Augustus' planning and thinking. By no means should this aspect of the programme, by now generally recognised, detract from the educational value, and perhaps educational aims, of the venture. It is indeed a wonder that while it is as a rule accepted without reservation that the sculptures (both in the round and in relief) and coloured window programmes of medieval cathedrals served an educational purpose in presenting to the viewer important aspects of Sacred History, Lives of the Saints and other edificatory tales, the educational aspect of the assembly of heroes in Augustus' Forum seems to be entirely neglected. Surely no better way to teach Roman history—admittedly, as seen by Augustus, but not necessarily less 'objective' than history seen by any of his contemporaries—could have been invented. The *cursus honorum* for the initiated or professionally interested, the *res gestae* for the general (literate) public, other features perhaps for the young or the illiterate: Gellius' mention (9.11.10) of Corvinus' raven on his statue in the Forum comes after the long aetiological story of his name. One imagines that the raven served both as identification for those unable to read the inscriptions (and if so, this is a good indication of basic knowledge about Republican heroes even among the illiterate), and as a starting point for guides, the likes of Gellius, explaining to their charges the various heroes and their legends and histories.

By necessity this brings us to a discussion of the knowledge and teaching of history in Late Republican and Augustan Rome. The subject, well-deserving and of wider implications, has never been accorded adequate treatment. Some patterns, however, emerge quite

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conceived), though these serve a clearly propagandistic purpose; on the other hand coin legends such as *pax aeterna*, *securitas temporum* or *felicitas saeculi* are, at best, wishful thinking. It may be said, perhaps, that while the factual can be interpreted in different ways, obfuscation immediately raises the suspicion of propaganda/advertisement. In the Forum, the *cursus honorum* of the *summi viri* are as factual as can be desired, but one's impression from the few remains of the accompanying stories of the *elogia* is that here, too, the approach was factual, though of course the choice of facts was not devoid of design. At least in appearance the inscriptions of the Forum were meant for edification, not propaganda.

clearly. Historical *exempla*, repeating stock characters and events, or often only very briefly alluding to them, were part and parcel of the armoury of the orator. In order to be understood and appreciated, a modicum of historical information among the audience must have been assumed, though of course some of the information in the *exempla* was self-perpetuating—and not necessarily of any great historical depth or accuracy.

It has been maintained[84] that Cicero in his public speeches could assume a degree of familiarity with recent history, but when he was referring to events of the period from the Second Punic War to the Second Century some explanation was in place; more remote ancient history still seems to have been even less familiar. To judge by the references to the great historical figures of the Republic in the Augustan poets,[85] only a very small number of heroes could be referred to without having to engage in rather copious explanations. The Forum of Augustus contained a very considerable number of statues and accompanying inscriptions, but even among the very few that are specifically attested there appear figures never mentioned by Cicero or by the Augustan poets.[86] There can be no doubt that an educational programme of national instruction in history—to be called propaganda by those who so insist—was under way.

Even the present age of scepticism in regard to Augustus' aims and methods, still under the formidable influence of *The Roman Revolution*, must needs stop and reflect on the wealth of information provided by the Forum and its statuary. Given the 'propagandistic' aims of the assembly of Republican heroes and their juxtaposition with the ancestors of Augustus, how are we to explain the very wealth and number of the figures presented? Did the needs of 'propaganda' include obscure figures, mentioned in passing by the great Augustan historian?[87] Surely something closer to Virgil's *Heldenschau* would have been more in order, nay, more effective in making the viewer concentrate on a number of important items recognised and memorised with some ease.[88] The

[84] Horsfall 2003, 88–90.

[85] Cf. Dueck 2000, 185–91, and see above, ch. 3 n. 36.

[86] E.g. Duilius and T. Sempronius Gracchus, who were among Augustus' choices (see below, ch. 5), are never referred to by Virgil, Horace or Ovid; for the obscurity of Cethegus see Luce 1990, 130; for Albinius discussed ibid. 130, 131–2 see below, ch. 5 n. 157.

[87] Cf. Luce 1990.

[88] Another aspect of propaganda/advertisement may be mentioned here—the

overwhelming number of statues in the Forum could not have been due to primarily aesthetic considerations—indeed, it would be perverse to argue (and not to be defended by supporters of the propagandistic explanation either) that aesthetic (or even topographic?) considerations were the primary factor in the establishment of the statuary. 'The just shall live by his faith' (Hab. 2:4)—one is free to ascribe the motifs most acceptable to one's own way of thinking to Augustus' programme of reform in state, society, culture and religion, as long as there is no major conflict with the available evidence. On any interpretation of Augustus' motifs it is not to be denied that either the statues with their inscriptions in the Forum of Augustus contributed greatly to the historical consciousness and historical knowledge of the Roman plebs, or that their setting up did not, in fact, serve any useful purpose at all.

Augustus must have learned a lesson or two from the history of the last generations of the Roman Republic. He certainly had to reassess the role of the plebs in the age of revolution. If stable government was to be maintained—and we are expressly told by the Princeps himself that this was his aim[89]—the fickleness of the plebs was to be contained: of course by means of *panem et circenses*, but there was to be more to it than that. Only an educated plebs, educated in the history of the Roman People, knowledgeable about the men and actions that had made the Republic great and then almost destroyed it, until it was saved by the timely appearance of its greatest son, and the Father of his Country, whose historical mission was to restore the Republic, only such a plebs could be relied on to play its part in the New Order.[90] Only such an historical perspective could grant a true understanding of the present situation. Moreover, such an education also had to include the steps that led to the new equilibrium in the state, the new *modus vivendi* between the Princeps and the aristocracy, and the place of the people itself in the new order. The plebs was to be instructed about the achievements

insistence on brevity and the mnemotechnical—and suggestive—value of repeating a statement over and over again: these were not invented, only brought to perfection, by certain twentieth-century regimes and agencies. The propagandistic value of connexion between the Julian House and the heroes of the Republic seems to me infinitely more useful in the *Heldenschau* than in the Forum—though admittedly these were directed to different publics.

[89] Suet. *Aug.* 28.2 and above, n. 72.

[90] 'An educated Plebs is our best Plebs' is a slogan I would propose but was not yet formed in the mind of the son of the first century BCE. It is derived, I freely admit, from an advertisement of one of my favourite American stores (substitute 'customer' for 'Plebs').

of Augustus, as well as about his unique descent, but it was not to unlearn what it owed to the scions of the great houses of the Republic. Though far from a dyarchy in the Mommsenian sense, there existed a fine balance between nobility and ruler, in which each was content to maintain its position. The new loyalty to the Princeps, the adherence to the vow of *tota Italia* on the eve of the last of the civil wars,[91] was not to terminate entirely the traditional allegiances of the plebs. The system of patronage was to continue—with a new head at the top of the pyramid. There was no question of abolishing or even endangering the privileged position of the nobility or its standing in the eyes of their inferiors. But there was no return to the unruly and disorganised exhibition and self-advertisement of the various aristocratic families.

It must have been somebody's stroke of genius—it is a pleasurable thought that this may well have been the Princeps himself—to couple need and convenience, to use readily available material for a new purpose that had presented itself. Education by means of the visual arts was not a new phenomenon in Antiquity. The galleries of philosophers and other collections of busts, notably in libraries, must have been meant to instruct as well as to honour and to please,[92] and of course the *imagines* in the atria of the nobility fulfilled such an aim under quite different circumstances and with a different slant. It is possible that the very architectural choice of site for the erection of the statues of the *summi viri* betrays its goal as a place for education. The semicircular porticoes hitherto used as places of instruction and discussion by the intellectuals[93] were now converted to a public space for the education of the Roman People. It was now up to Augustus to choose the appropriate syllabus for that education.[94]

Assmann's concept of *das kulturelle Gedächtnis* has been applied with good effect to the classical Roman Republic by Hölkeskamp, with special concern for the monuments (including statues) and their location in the city. Hölkeskamp sees the monuments as forming one massive—indeed monumental—image in the mind—indeed imagina-

[91] *RG* 25.2.

[92] See e.g. Lorenz 1965, 57–9; von den Hoff 1994, 189–94.

[93] Vitr. 5.11.2: *constituantur autem in tribus porticibus exhedrae spatiosae, habentes sedes, in quibus philosophi, rhetores reliquique, qui studiis delectantur, sedentes disputare possint*; cf. Gros 1976, 93.

[94] The possible influences on Augustus' Choice of Heroes for his Forum have been the subject of some speculation, see e.g. Frank 1938; Rowell 1941; Zanker 1968, 26; Horsfall, 1980; Norden 1990; Luce 1990.

tion—of the Romans: 'Romulus und Brutus, der erste Triumph und der Existenzkampf der jungen Republik sind im kulturellen Gedächtnis der Republik um 150 so nahe wie Scipio Africanus und der große Krieg gegen Hannibal oder L. Aemilius Paullus und sein spektakulärer Triumph im Jahre 167...'.[95] This may well be so, though one is never quite sure who, exactly, the carriers of this seemingly Jungian collective remembrance may have been. Descending from the lofty heights of theory to the mundane bustle of the privileged centre of memory of the City in the Forum and on the Capitol, one wonders whether this memory (here, rather, Memory) was shared equally between senator of noble descent, *homo novus*, and members of the *plebs urbana*, not to mention women, children, assorted visitors, strangers, freedmen and slaves. But even in relation only to the privileged elites or the political classes one sees the unhistorical picture, devoid of chronology or associations, that emerges from the disorganised jumble of monuments. This was, of course, well in line with the lack of any systematic study of history and its absence from the educational curricula of the ancient world.

Thus it will be readily understood that Augustus' ordering the display of statues in the city and replacement of the hodgepodge of monuments with the organised, perhaps (as we shall see) in part methodical and segmented, parade of heroes in his Forum was far more than just that. If memory, undifferentiated and uncontrolled, was the order of the day under the Republic, the New Regime had specific aims and possessed the means to achieve them. Education could well be viewed here as inserting order and system into the *disiecta membra* of collective memory. Not without well-defined aims and purpose—but then, is it not of the very essence of education to purvey the ideals of the society and inoculate with them their recipients? While the various Republican memorials were but claims to memory, Augustus produced here the authoritative version of Roman history, the ideology of the Principate itself, an ideology that could not be rightfully challenged.

What is at stake here is not so much the question of education, but rather the visual means employed to gain these educational ends. Hitherto the display of statues of statesmen and generals in Republican Rome has been seen, rightly, as a means of the self-glorification of the various families of the Roman aristocracy. The Augustan arrangement did not deprive the *gentes* of the Republican nobility of their ancient

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[95] Hölkeskamp 2003, 233.

glory, but by its new array of the visual symbols of this glory turned them into instruments of the educational policy of the Princeps.

Education by visual means is not to be regarded as an invention of Christianity. The famous admonition of Gregory the Great,[96] according to whom images in the churches may serve the illiterate who thus can see on the walls what they cannot read in books, states what must have been true, *mutatis mutandis*, also of 'pagan' Antiquity. Though the fundamental role of The Book was an innovation of Christianity—or, rather, taken over from Judaism and newly and widely disseminated—education or propagation of facts or ideas by the visual medium was anything but new. Limiting our examples to Rome, it is enough to be reminded of the painted placards carried in the triumphal processions, or of the wall paintings and reliefs of historical subjects,[97] not to mention the statues and images of the nobility already discussed, to realise the role of education by means of works of art in the public life of the Republic. Yet in truth, and contrary to the worries of Gregory, visual education and literacy were not of necessity mutually exclusive. Whatever the state of affairs in Christianity—and one would hardly posit that literate Christians would have been advised to disregard the educational images presented to them—in Rome image and inscription were more often than not conjoined. Indeed, to return to the more concrete subject under discussion, our knowledge of the Roman world would be substantially poorer were the Romans not in the habit of inscribing the bases of their statues. How many of their ancient viewers could avail themselves of the inscriptions, and how many in fact took the trouble of reading them, is anybody's guess. Yet the advantage of linking image and word must have been apparent to Augustus. Our difficulties in decoding the messages of the Ara Pacis Augustae exactly[98] may have been shared to an extent by contemporaries of the newly built monument. On the contrary, there could be no

[96] Gregory *ep*. 9.9, *PL* 77.1128–9, and cf. *ep*. 9.8, *PL* 77.1027–8, and see the discussion in Freedberg 1989, 163.

[97] On the triumphal placards see Holliday 1997, and cf. also Brilliant 1999; on history paintings and reliefs see Budde 1973; Holliday 1980; *DNP* s.v. Triumphgemälde.

[98] Note e.g. that even such a self-assured and authoritative interpreter as Zanker 1990, 175 concedes the difficulty of identifying the goddess represented and sees in Pax Augusta only 'perhaps the best candidate'. It has been suggested to me that avoiding inscriptions on the monument was a deliberate act of making the meanings multiple and ambiguous—the figure was Pax *and* Tellus *and* Italia. Or is it that we are so ignorant that we do not see what was as clear as daylight to every (educated) Roman?

ambiguity, for literate persons, in deciphering the messages of the *Res Gestae*. For Augustus' final, and crowning, building project no risks would be taken, and the accompanying inscriptions would present to those who could read them the great men and the memorable deeds performed thanks to their *mores*. There was of course nothing new in combining image and inscription: the innovation lay in the purposeful and methodical combination of the two in a long and well-planned series.

Augustus' choice of heroes for his Forum that came to replace the hitherto almost random erection of statues of Roman nobles in the available public space of the city may be profitably compared with his monopolisation of the coinage. The exploitation by moneyers of the opportunities open to them for family aggrandisement and for the furthering of their and their families' political ambitions was to make way for the minting policy of the Princeps promoting a planned political strategy bent on advancing his ideas for a reconstructed Republic. Though moneyers were still allowed some leeway, from the year of Actium on the portrait of the Princeps (and later those of the family of the Emperor) was not to be rivalled by that of other political personages.[99]

A chance remark to one of his grandsons[100] preserves for us the appreciation of the aged Augustus for the greatest orator of Rome and the would-be guide of his earliest days in politics. But Cicero was killed—solely because of Mark Antony, as later propaganda was to maintain[101]—in the proscriptions very early in the career of the future Princeps. On the other hand, as we have seen, Nepos, Varro and Atticus were all still active in the triumviral period (and Nepos even in the first years of the sole rule of the man styled by him *Imperator Divi Filius*[102] though not yet Augustus, and he may have been more influential during the period when Octavian's rule and presumably some of the ideas sustaining that rule evolved). Moreover, these writers may have provided better guidance for the education of the masses than the various writings of Cicero. Nepos' work in particular was adapted to the interests

[99] See e.g. Sutherland 1984, 21, 24, and for an appreciation of the importance of the coinage Millar 2000, 15–18.

[100] Plut. *Cic*. 49.5.

[101] Sen. *suas*. 6 is entirely built on the premiss that the guilt was solely Antony's, and see esp. §§ 7, 13; according to § 9 Albucius was the only declaimer (and, on Seneca's own evidence, none of the historians shared his view) who made the other triumvirs his partners in culpability; Plut. *Cic*. 46–49 similarly lays the blame on Antony alone.

[102] Nepos, *Att*. 19.2.

of broad sectors of the inhabitants of Rome.[103] It may not be too far-fetched to suggest that it was to some extent the remoteness of elite literature from the great mass of the population that possibly induced Augustus to seek succour in quarters more easily accessible to them. It must have been a godsend that there existed a work of literature that was not only close to the aims of the Princeps, but also seems to have been aimed at a middlebrow public. However, as we shall see, while the influence of Nepos is in the realm of the plausible and credible, another influence will be detected through more tangible vestiges.

Clearly, any consideration of the problem of Augustus' choice of heroes for his Forum will have to take account of literary models, and obviously the works of Atticus, Varro and of Nepos would not have been ignored in this context. No doubt for the wider public the Forum of Augustus was of immensely larger significance than any possible literary models. Whatever the scope of Nepos' intended 'middlebrow' public, this modest work could hardly emulate the most visible and continuously used public space in the city. It may appear to be stating the obvious, but only the means used by the Princeps could find access to his public, which is not to be compared with any reading public, however relatively lowly—the public of Augustus was the entire population of the city.

Another aspect of the pageant of statues in the Forum of Augustus deserves consideration. When talking earlier about the groups of heroes conceived by Nepos and possibly Varro forming a canon (see above, ch. 3), I intentionally made use of a loaded term. It is well known that 'canon' in its now accepted sense came to be so applied only in modern times,[104] and is as a rule put to use in literary and other intellectual contexts. One characteristic of canon derives rather from its literary genesis than from its literary or artistic subject matters. By definition a canon is closed, though of course there may be differences of opinion as to its composition and validity, and attempts may be made to replace it. On the other hand, as far as our specific quest is concerned, it is clear from Augustus' provisions that not all the places available for statues in the Forum were occupied and that it was the intention of the Princeps to add monuments of future men of comparable accomplishments.[105]

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[103] Geiger 1985a, 71; 95–6.

[104] Pfeiffer 1968, 207, and cf. above, ch. 2.

[105] Suet. *Aug.* 31.5: *proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum redidissent. Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit*

His involvement in the establishment of a list of the past heroes of the Republic was in no way to detract from the right, or obligation, of his heirs to expand that list using the principles laid down by the Princeps.

The process of canonisation is in effect the drawing up of a finite, closed list at a point in time when such a process is called for as indicated by a set of particular circumstances. Augustus' authoritative composition of a register of Republican heroes formed by arranging their statues and their *elogia* in his Forum drew a line under the history of Rome (Royal and Republican) down to his own time and the dawn of the New Era. (And it is of more than marginal interest to realise that thus the Princeps himself had called his own bluff claiming the Restoration of the Republic. At the very best the Republic Restored could be described as a Second Republic.) This clear demarcation was to find an unmistakable visual expression in his Forum: those deemed in future to be worthy to join the ranks of Rome's heroes were to be honoured with bronze statues so that no one could confuse them with the heroes of old sculpted in marble. Could any person, be he a member of the supposedly uneducated, ignorant and illiterate plebs, fail to see the line clearly drawn—as it must needs have been—between the row of marble statues of the Republic and those, adjacent, of bronze starting the New Era?

Augustus, great innovator as he was, should hardly be credited with first establishing the connexion between canonisation and periodisation. On the contrary, it seems that the two ideas were always closely linked, canonisation appearing at a clearly defined point where the close of an earlier age was manifestly perceived. This may also be connected with the sense of an onset of a new age, though this is not a necessary corollary of the realisation of the distinctness of an earlier period. Alexandrian literary canons and the image of the bygone Classical Age do not seem to imply an awareness of a new age with sharply delineated characteristics of its own, nor does the Law of Lycurgus concerning the text of the three tragedians[106] entail more than the awareness of their being without match in the succeeding period down to the legislator's day. On the other hand periodisation and canonisation may display an

et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit, professus e[s]t edicto: *commentum id se, ut ad illorum* <…> *velut ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatium principes exigerentur a civibus*, and cf. also Dio 55.10.3.

[106] [Plut.] *vitae X or.* 841F, but see the somewhat different views of Porter 2006, esp. 50–3.

officially acknowledged connexion.[107] The canonisation of the Hebrew Bible was closely linked with the message of the cessation of prophecy in Israel,[108] as was that of the New Testament with the passing of the Apostolic Age. Be these parallels and analogies as they may, with Augustus there can be no doubt that the ideas of periodisation and of canonisation were closely associated. His periodisation of course was hardly the detached view of the would-be objective historian: the Republic was followed by the period of anarchy[109] and civil war, only to be restored, purged and revitalised, by the First Citizen.

In this regard, it seems that Augustus and his Forum already hinted at a future controversy surrounding the definition of the New Age. In later generations there were different opinions concerning the beginning of the Principate—was Julius Caesar or Augustus the First Princeps?—and in effect the prevailing view changed during the reign of Trajan.[110] It appears that Augustus evaded the problem of the status of Julius Caesar by assigning his deified father in all probability a specially designed statue in a special room, the Room of the Colossus.[111]

Moreover, it is just possible that we can set Augustus' establishment of a 'canon' of Roman heroes in a wider context. While so-called 'canons' of authors had been a well-known part of the Alexandrian achievement, an important development seems to have taken place from about 100 BCE.[112] From that time on rhetorical writers tend to draw up lists of recommended authors, a 'canon' in our modern sense. This tendency is closely related to the reigning theory of *mimesis*, or *imitatio*: one had to study the best authors if one hoped to fashion one's own achievements according to the most successful of the past. I think there exists a remarkable factor here that has gone hitherto unnoticed. One of the characteristics of ancient canons, as opposed to modern ones,[113] is their pinpointing the author rather than the work, always providing lists of authors rather than of works: Sophocles was one of the three

[107] One may compare with some profit the Catholic Church, where procedures of canonisation are conducted either *per viam cultus* or *per viam non cultus*, thus clearly distinguishing between mythical and historical periods in its history, though it probably would be loath to use this terminology, see e.g. Kemp 1948, 141–50.

[108] See sources collected in *Enc.Jud.* II s.v. Bible, 823.

[109] Cf. Tac. *a.* 3.28 *continua per viginti annos discordia, non mos, non ius*.

[110] See Geiger 1975.

[111] See most recently Spannagel 1999, 303–6.

[112] For this and what follows see Vardi 2003, 135–6.

[113] See e.g. Bloom 1994, 15: 'Originally the Canon meant the choice of books in our teaching institutions', and above, ch. 2 n. 32.

great tragedians, it was from him, not from a particular list of his plays, that one could derive the greatest profit by the process of imitation. (The fact that in a much later period such lists were composed, thus contributing to the loss of the other plays, belongs, I believe, to a different set of problems.)

It was in this period too that certain figures outside the world of literature were for the first time described as functioning as a 'canon', a yardstick by which to measure virtues. Though the idea is close to that of the *exemplum*, there is I believe a fundamental difference: it was the hero, rather than one of his acts, who was to provide an example, to become an exemplary type. Without wishing to stress the analogy, one wonders whether there was no parallel development of transferring the emphasis from the *exemplum*, the exemplary deed, to the exemplary person (who may quite often have been the hero of such deeds). Thus the Greek resident of Augustan Rome, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, defined Lysias as 'the best canon of the Attic tongue'.[114] Somewhat later the Alexandrian Jew Philo in a similar vein says of Abraham that he ἅπασιν ἐπηλύταις εὐγενείας ἐστὶ κανών[115] and the three biblical patriarchs are each the canon of a different form of wisdom,[116] while later still for Lucian Solon functions as a canon, and so should the Stoic Sage.[117] It seems a subtle change, yet it is in fact a very far-reaching one that introduces canonicity, formerly the preserve of authors and men of the intellect, to men of the public, and especially the ethical, sphere.

The example brought by Dionysius of Halicarnassus is telling. This prime representative of Atticism[118] allows us to see the close connexion between the new idea of canonicity and the budding archaism of the times. It is agreed that the great models of literary production, the best possible representatives of each genre, lie in a remote past; it appears that the same may be said of various representatives of moral virtues. Is it too far-fetched to connect these ideas with the assemblage of the various most exemplary persons who did well by their country?

The display of a 'canon' of the heroes of the Republic in the Augustan Forum is comparable to these selections in that it puts the

[114] Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 2; cf. *Isae.* 20; *Lys.* 18.
[115] Philo *de virt.* 219.
[116] Philo, *vita Mosis* 1.76.
[117] Lucian. *Scyth.* 7; *Hermot.* 76, and see Oppel 1937, 40–3.
[118] See Wilamowitz 1900, esp. 4–5; 44–6, and the judicious remarks of Swain 1996, 21–7.

emphasis on the hero rather than on his achievements. In this regard sculptural representation tends to differ from the historical *exemplum*, in which the hero was captured in a single action, a single moment in time. The difference may have been subtle, but nevertheless perceptible. While the historical *exemplum* was as a rule concerned with a single act, say that of M. Valerius Corvus, and, as we happen to know,[119] the sculpture in the Forum was made to recall to the mind of the spectator used to the historical *exempla* of the orators that very act, many other personages depicted, such as Ti. Gracchus, the father of the tribunes, had no single memorable act associated with them. Though responsible for many fine deeds for the Republic, they have not achieved exemplary status. One wonders whether, in the view of some people at least, the statue might not to some extent have taken the place of the *exemplum*—in some cases the less-educated spectator would identify a certain statue as 'one of those great men' without necessarily recognising the famous and exemplary deeds of the man. (Do we not automatically assume that a person after whom a street is named must have been a person of some importance, even if we never happen to have heard his name before?) Of course, visual representation is perfectly well fitted to capture the one-time action—one doesn't have to go as far as later European painting, it is sufficient to bear in mind the Alexander-paintings by Apelles displayed by Augustus in his Forum[120]—and in fact such actions were not totally absent from the sculptural exhibit of the Forum. The two centrally displayed pieces among the statues, which occupied the centres of two hemicycles, Aeneas with Anchises and Ascanius fleeing Troy, and Romulus carrying the *spolia opima*, were just such representations. It may be left to speculation to what extent Augustus (or his advisers) have intended the contrast and the emphasis on the exemplary deeds of the Fathers of the Nation and of the Julian *gens*. What is certain is that they were exceptional—as were Augustus' *quadriga* and the so-called Colossus in its specially designed room, most probably a statue of the Divine Julius. Be this as it may, and returning to our main observation above, one can hardly deny the coincidence between the establishment of lists of best authors to be imitated and the creation of the authoritative list of the greatest heroes of the Republic: these were expressly put up by the Princeps as models to be emulated, and the successful imitators of

[119] See Gell. 9.11.10.
[120] Plin. *nh*. 35.93–4.

later times were to be rewarded with bronze statues of their own in the Forum. This indeed may be the most important point of contact between the otherwise seemingly disparate series of exemplary Greek writers discussed in specialist literary treatises and marble statues of Roman generals set up in the Forum: both groups were expressly and explicitly assembled for the purpose of *mimesis* or *imitatio*. Beyond the similarity in the aims of *imitatio* it will have to remain anybody's guess whether the Princeps, or his advisers, had created a set of examples to contend with those of Greece consciously or inadvertently. But surely a thoughtful contemporary, already noticing the evocation of Virgil's *Heldenschau* in Augustus' Hall of Fame, may have also recalled Anchises' words at the end of that scene, juxtaposing the accomplishments of Greek science and arts with Rome's mission of justly ruling and governing a pacified world. And perhaps it was not only some unconscious irony that put the specific Greek aptitude—*vivos ducent de marmore vultus*—to the service of Rome and the portrayal of those of her sons who most contributed to her greatness. Moreover, it is worth the while to take a look at those composing the different canons. While authors composing canons of, say, poets, were authorities—at least in their own minds—in matters of poetry, composing a canon of the great men of Rome was a task that could be performed only by the one acknowledged authority in such manners: the greatest man of Rome.

In order to appreciate the implications of these considerations also the following should be kept in mind. The Atticism and archaism of the Augustan age[121] was basically a Greek movement, the accepted models were those of Greek literature. Late in the Hellenistic Age the canons of the various literary genres were drawn up. I have suggested setting the Augustan catalogue of Rome's greatest sons as they were canonised, as it were, in the *Forum Augustum* in some sort of relationship to the former lists, if only that of a—I admit, rather diffidently invoked—*Zeitgeist*. It would be another century before Romans will consider themselves on equal footing with Greeks as the producers of outstanding examples of

[121] Wilamowitz 1900 is the fountainhead of modern discussions; the entire volume edited by Flashar 1979 is relevant as is much of the volume edited by Porter 2006; for a recent very broad sweep see Porter 2006; for the visual aspects see especially the contribution by Zanker 1979 and note also the reservations of Hölscher 2000, 268–71; see also Hölscher 2006b; on the connexion between Asianism and Hellenistic 'baroque' sculpture see Stewart 2006; all of the ongoing discussion concerning originality, emulation, *Kopienkritik* etc. is highly relevant, but beyond both the scope of this study and the competence of this student; for a state-of-the-art summary see Hallett 2005.

literary genres. Quintilian's judgment in his survey of the best authors to the effect that Romans may be set against the choice examples of Greek authors is far more important in its general tendency than are its individual *ex cathedra* pronouncements. In my view, this 'canonisation' (if one may so use the word here) by Quintilian is a far cry from such assertions of individual achievement and self-presentation as those of Horace,[122] perhaps more hopeful than assured, and certainly a literary *topos* in Rome ever since Ennius dreamt of being the reincarnation of Homer.[123] Plutarch started his ambitious project of juxtaposing Greek and Roman generals and statesmen on equal terms only a few years after Quintilian's work (and perhaps only after completing a rhetorical exercise showing that the Athenians in fact excelled in war more than in peace). Both the antecedents of these biographies (including Nepos' books comparing, probably only implicitly, Greek and Roman generals)[124] and the aims, political and literary, of the *synkriseis* have often been discussed. Though promoting the creation of a unified Greco-Roman culture may indeed have been very far from the mind of Plutarch,[125] in effect both the efforts of Quintilian—with whom, strangely, Plutarch seems not to have been linked until now—and his own seem to have contributed to achieving just such a goal. Horace's appraisal of the relationship between Greece and Rome was finally laid to rest as a thing of the past. Neither should *Graecia* be viewed any more as *capta*—and to counter her present state of subjection it could be demonstrated that her past heroes could contend on an equal footing with those of her conquerors—nor was it right to describe the Romans as *feri victores* any longer. Plutarch of course never had the means, nor presumably did it occur to him explicitly, to set up an unmistakeable counterpart to the *Forum Augustum*[126]: yet, by design or by chance, his *Parallel Lives*, or rather the Greeks included in them, were to form in due course a challenge, albeit only in a literary work of limited circulation, to some of the Roman heroes of the Forum.

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[122] Hor. *c.* 3.30.13–16; 1.1.35–6 etc.

[123] Enn. *ann.* 1–9 with Skutsch 1985 ad loc.

[124] Geiger 1988.

[125] For a subtle analysis of Plutarch's parallelism of the Greek and Roman worlds see Duff 1999, esp. 287–309.

[126] Which is of course a very different thing from deriving inspiration from it, for which see Geiger 2005 and below, ch. 7.

However, none of the phenomena discussed here had anything like the careful planning, organised effect and above all wide impact that Augustus' great educational project was to have.

How far was Augustus involved in the choice of persons, the selection or approval of the statues and the composition of the inscriptions? First, a general consideration. The provision that future heroes should have their bronze statues erected in the Forum[127] seems to take for granted the active involvement of future *principes*, surely a conclusion drawn from the present state of affairs. To this may be added more explicit witnesses. Until some years ago we had only one text telling us about the personal contribution of the Princeps to the details of his Hall of Fame. This text refers to the inscriptions (more precisely, to one inscription) rather than to the choice of heroes, and in fact even this reference is not unambiguous. We are told by Pliny the Elder that the statue of Scipio Aemilianus in the *Forum Augustum* was inscribed by the Princeps,[128] whatever that means—after all, it was his Forum and whatever was done there by whomsoever was done, so to speak, under his auspices. What does Pliny's 'wrote' or 'inscribed' actually signify? Unfortunately, the classic study of Millar (1967) does not deal with examples of composing inscriptions for monuments.[129] However, one could argue that, if the emperor cared to deal in person with *libelli, subscriptiones* and whatever was needed for the smooth administration of the Empire, a fortiori it would not be imprudent to assume his personal participation in a project so close to his heart. Still, we cannot know for sure whether Augustus' contribution was of a more general or more particular type. And this still does not take account of the question as to whether Pliny was in the possession of reliable information concerning the way the inscriptions were composed or, what seems to be the far more sensible assumption, whether the statement concerning Augustus' writing was simply his deduction from the existence of the inscription. It seems that we are reduced to hardly more than guesses, perhaps

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[127] Dio 55.10.3; Suet. *Aug.* 31.5.

[128] Plin. *nh* 22.13: *Aemilianum quoque Scipionem Varro auctor est donatum obsidionali in Africa Manilio consule, III cohortibus servatis totidemque ad servandas eas eductis, quod et statuae eius in foro suo divus Augustus <in>scripsit.*

[129] One might perhaps compare with some profit the *titulus crucis*; in the version of John 19:19 it was Pontius Pilatus who composed (ἔγραψε) the inscription—and the context makes his personal involvement quite likely, see Geiger 1996, though this certainly is far from proof for his responsibility for the exact wording.

only explaining the guesses of Pliny. Yet it should also be kept in mind that the composition of the *elogia* does not necessarily correspond to the choice of subjects—obviously the latter was the decisive step, the former only its complement, as it were.

But on any view of the authorship one should never loose sight of the lack of conformity in the *elogia*, clearly to be perceived even in the extant small sample. This makes overall authorship or even editing the less likely: if anything of the sort was going on, it must have been sporadic and in most cases directed *ad rem* or *ad hominem*. Surely Augustus could not, or would not want to, ignore wishes or objections of descendants or other family members even though the statues were erected on his private ground and from his own funds. But to repeat: this evidence, such as it is, pertains to the inscriptions rather than to the choice of the statues they were to accompany. And on any account the choice of the heroes was far more important than the exact wording of the inscriptions.

For some time now, however, we are in the possession of a text that provides us with a somewhat more positive piece of evidence as to Augustus' involvement in the choice of heroes, though of course we are still short of proof of overall authorship or redaction. Even a priori one would have assumed that, whatever the degree of Augustus' participation in this choice, it was certainly not less pronounced in the 'Julian' half of the Forum than in the part of the *summi viri*. Now we have evidence, rather than guesswork, relating to the statue of at least one person of his family. The *Tabula Siarensis* orders the erection of triumphal statues of Germanicus at public expense in those public places in which Augustus had placed statues of Drusus Germanicus.[130] Since we know that a statue of Drusus, no doubt in triumphal dress, was placed in the Forum,[131] the conclusion that this was done by Augustus' express orders seems inevitable. Any objection here that again setting up 'by (the order of) Augustus' may only mean 'under his auspices' would involve the patently absurd assumption that somebody made a momentous decision concerning an important member of the family of the Princeps without consulting him—and that on ground acquired by him and at his expense.

[130] *Tab. Siar.* frg. (b), col. II, ll. 7–10 (Crawford 1996, 517): *itaque place- || [re uti statuae—Germa]nici Caesaris cum veste triumpha- || [li sumptu plebes urbanae ponerentur.] I[n] ar<e>is publicis, in quibus divus Aug- || [ustus et—statuas Drusi G]ẹṛ(manici) posuissent, cum inscriptione plebis urbanae*; regrettably Nicolet 1995 is not specific about the location.

[131] *CIL* VI.8.3 40330, to be discussed below, ch. 5.

Another contemporary member of the family whose statue stood in the Forum was Tiberius.[132] Alföldy, the most recent editor of the inscription, asserts that it (and of course the statue to which it belonged) had been set up in 2 BCE, without even referring to the fact that in that case this was the only dedication of a statue in the subject's lifetime known to us at the time of the opening of the Forum. Nevertheless he may well be right. It is not only the assumption that this may have been the precedent for the relatively numerous dedications during the subjects' lifetime under the Julio-Claudians of which we have evidence,[133] but also other considerations, that lead us to the same conclusion. First, there is the general argument from probability (and perhaps this was in Alföldy's mind[134]): now that the dead Drusus' triumphal statue stood with the members of the Julian *gens* in the Forum, failing to erect a statue there to his surviving brother in that year of crisis, shortly before Augustus refused him permission to return from Rhodes,[135] may well have seemed a final break. Nevertheless, while accepting that the statue was set up in Tiberius' lifetime, this still may have happened on a date between 2 BCE and the death of Augustus and accession of Tiberius in 14 CE, perhaps at the time of Tiberius' adoption by Augustus.

Also, in the Republic it was commonplace to dedicate statues to living persons. Augustus' strict division between the men who had made the Republic great in the past and those who were to emulate them in the future was made for the *summi viri* and did not necessarily apply to the Julian side of the Forum, not to mention the fact that the Princeps was hardly bound by his own or anybody else's rules, in this or in any other affair. Moreover, one of the probable intellectual influences on the composition of the Hall of Fame, Cornelius Nepos, was the author of a biography of a living person, Atticus, the first work of this kind known to us.[136] This is not to imply of course that Augustus needed a precedent set by such a humble person, rather, it is the *Zeitgeist* that may once again be invoked, with an additional consideration. The interest of the Augustan Age in biography is observable also in its growing interest in autobiography.[137] Now obviously autobiography shares with

[132] *CIL* VI.8.3 40335, and see also discussion below, ch. 5.
[133] See discussion in ch. 6.
[134] Cf. his discussion of Drusus and Tiberius, the *concordia sidera* of *cons. ad Liviam* (*epic. Drusi*) 283, in Alföldy 1999, 95–6.
[135] Suet. *Tib.* 11.5; the date is the expiration of his *tribunicia potestas*, viz. 1 BCE.
[136] Nepos *Att.* 19.1.
[137] I hope to expand on this in a forthcoming study.

the biography of living persons this very characteristic. Erecting statues of living persons alongside those of the dead seems to me clearly comparable to the setting of biographies of living persons—and perhaps of autobiographies—alongside those of the dead. Moreover Varro, whose great influence on the Gallery of Heroes is a major claim of this study and will be discussed in the following, was the only living person whose portrait was displayed in the library of Asinius Pollio.[138] Augustus, who as a very young man must have been aware of this when visiting, as he must have, the library first planned by his Divine Father, and in all probability became not much later acquainted with Nepos' biography of Atticus, must have regarded the addition of the statue of a living person (or were there more?)[139] as anything but an innovation when he was over sixty.

And then there is the negative consideration concerning the statue of Tiberius, perhaps in itself decisive: if not in 2 BCE, when was the statue set up?[140] Certainly not under this Emperor himself, nor conceivably under any of his successors. Thus the only remaining question is whether this statue of a living person was unique in the *Forum Augustum* or not.

All these random pieces of evidence should encourage us to assume a maximum degree of involvement, but certainty is not to be had. However, the conceivable participation of Augustus' intimates does not detract from the importance he must have accorded the project. Certainly not only the material preparations, the building, the manufacture and/or transportation of statues and the like must have necessitated considerable time (and expense!), but so did the exact planning, the choice and arrangement of the statues, and the preparation of the inscriptions. One imagines that during that time revisions and alterations would take place: the end product must have been a well-planned and well thought-out arrangement. Moreover, even being careful to avoid a circular argument it is possible to claim that one can detect Augustus' views and ideology in the remains of the inscriptions.[141]

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138 Plin. *nh* 7.115 *unius viventis posita imago est.*

139 It is not quite clear to me whence the assertion of Eck 1999, 44, that after 10 BCE many such statues were erected, with the honorand present; for the time from Tiberius on see below, ch. 6.

140 For our specific problem it would make no great difference if this happened between his reinstatement in 4 CE and his accession in 14 CE.

141 Chaplin 2000, 178–92; Frisch 1980 would also see stylistic parallels between the *elogia* and the *Res Gestae*, but most of his parallels are rather trivial and not very convincing. See also discussion below, ch. 5.

The Gallery of Heroes was divided into two halves, arranged in the two pairs of semicircular exedrae with niches and long porticoes on either side of the Forum. One was devoted to the ancestors of the Princeps, the Iulii, the other to the rest of the heroes of the Republic.[142] The location of the fragmentary inscriptions has made it all but certain that the Iulii stood in the north-western, the *summi viri* on the south-eastern, side.[143] Though it may have needed a certain effort to make the first half commensurate with the second, in the event some balance was achieved,[144] so that every visitor was visually presented with the unequalled grandeur of the Julian House and its connexions—one *gens* to equal all the glory of entire Republican aristocracy. Whatever the exact arrangement of the individual statues or groups may have been,[145] it needs little imagination to conjecture the climax of the two rows. Both the Iulii and the heroes of the Republic reached their peak with the Father of the Fatherland, who was not represented by a statue like the rest, but whose *quadriga* with the appropriate inscription occupied the middle station between the two rows at the centre of the piazza. Whether the rest of the layout was random, chronological or according to some other principle, it must have led up to this crowning event in the history of the Republic, the ultimate reason for the entire assemblage.

After these more general considerations, in the following discussion a number of more particular factors pertaining to the statues in the Hall of Fame will be pursued.

(1) What were the specific didactic devices employed in the project? Visual symbols, intelligible even to the illiterate, are explicitly attested in the description of the statue of Corvus,[146] and are implied elsewhere,[147] and no doubt they must have been present in abundance. Adding to this what we learn from the story of the statue of Aeneas about the

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[142] Ov. *f.* 5.563–6:
Hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro
Et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos;
Illinc videt Iliaden umeris ducis arma ferentem,
Claraque dispositis acta subesse viris.

[143] See Zanker 1968, 16 (who, for simplicity's sake, speaks of north and south).

[144] See discussion below, ch. 5.

[145] On which see below, ch. 5.

[146] Gell. 9.11.10: *Statuam Corvini isti divus Augustus in foro suo statuendam curavit. in eius statuae capite corvi simulacrum est rei pugnaeque, quam diximus monumentum.*

[147] Plin. *nh* 22.13, and see discussion below, ch. 5.

figures in Varro's *imagines*[148]—as will be presently shown, a major source of Augustus' inspiration—we may deduce with some assurance that similar aids to memory were used wherever possible. Other instances of such generally recognisable visual symbols are provided in Virgil's *Heldenschau*.[149] One imagines that some sort of iconographic instruction must have been quite widespread in Rome, even among the lower orders, otherwise much of the efforts of Republican moneyers would have been wasted.[150] Romans must have been well instructed in such iconography, as can be seen in its employment by a great variety of moneyers in the coins of the Republic. It may be helpful to compare this iconography with that of Christian saints and martyrs, each easily recognisable usually by one single symbol. Unfortunately, our evidence is too meagre to determine to what extent the principle was pursued in the execution, but conceivably some figures would become more easily identifiable by their belonging to such a group (e.g. the kings).

(2) Nevertheless, and whatever our view of the spread of literacy in the ancient world,[151] such iconography could have been relied on only in a limited number of cases, and even then it would communicate only a narrowly defined message, namely the identification of the person and the one exemplary deed usually connected with him. No doubt the very number and splendour of the statues must have impressed the viewer with the infinite majesty and unequalled attainments of the *imperium* of the Roman people, but it was the inscriptions that conveyed the specific details in which the Roman plebs was to be instructed. As we know, each statue of the *summi viri* was accompanied by two inscriptions (see above, fig. 2).[152] One, the so-called *titulus*, contained the name and

[148] Ioh. Lyd. *mag*. 1.12.

[149] Verg. *Aen*. 6.825–6: *saevomque securi / aspice Torquatum, et referentem signa Camillum*; 855: *insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis*.

[150] The clearest substantiation for the wider public's acquaintance with iconographic conventions is their parody, nicely demonstrated in the very case under discussion here by the caricature of the Aeneas-Anchises-Ascanius sculptural group, see Maiuri 1950 and the picture conveniently accessible e.g. in Zanker 1990, 209 fig. 162.

[151] Surely describing the people as *qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus* (Hor. *sat*. 1.6.17) does not assume an illiterate public, for whom the satirist would have a different sort of sarcastic expression.

[152] *InscrIt*. XIII.3 p. 4. In the sequence (pp. 4–5) Degrassi opines that the Alban kings and the early Iulii, about whose deeds little was known, had only one inscription. If that was so this would facilitate the inclusion of women, who obviously would have only one inscription—and that very short, though perhaps not quite as short as the one inscribed for Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, see Sehlmeyer 1999, 187–9.

public offices of the honorand in a manner similar to that of career inscriptions, presenting their subject in the nominative. This *titulus* served to identify him, to distinguish him from other homonymous and near-homonymous persons, and to establish his exact *dignitas*. Such inscriptions had been commonplace for some time, and their inclusion in the project of the Forum must have appeared self-evident. Nevertheless, the presentation of a person with his entire career, as opposed to honorary inscriptions which tended to record only the latest office of the honorand, had an important biographical aspect that would not be lost on the observer.[153] The second inscription, the *elogium*, contributed to the educational aims of the scheme by referring to the virtuous and exemplary deeds of the person.

(3) Finally, perhaps the most important aspect of the project was the choice of heroes. Strangely enough, this question seems to have engaged modern scholars to a lesser degree than one would have expected. Here too we are wretchedly ignorant of many particulars, our list of positively included persons amounting only to a fraction of the sum total. Fortunately, significant progress has been made, and the recent publication of *CIL* VI.8.3 as well as the important study by Spannagel gives a much better insight into the number and identity of the heroes of the Forum. A number of general considerations follow here, before a detailed analysis in the next chapter. One, if enlarging the empire of the Roman People and earning triumphs were not the only criteria for inclusion in the list, they were certainly fundamental for it. In fact, other than belonging to the Julian *gens*, we cannot be sure of any other principle that would secure one a place in the roll of honour, apart from the fact that men who made exceptional contributions to the greatness of the Roman People, such as Ap. Claudius Caecus, would be included even if they had never earned a triumph. Others, like the Elder Cato, though having triumphed, were far better known for other activities.[154] Another question may perhaps be answered in a more positive manner. Obviously, ancient history is much less fraught with dangers than contemporary events. This was no less true in Augustus' day than today. How near his own time did Augustus allow the list to

[153] For the innovative aspects of the inscriptions and their influence see discussion below, ch. 7.

[154] Nevertheless, *CIL* VI.8.3 40958 has been interpreted as containing a reference to his service in Spain, see below, ch. 5.

extend? We are fortunate to know that both Marius and Sulla were represented in the Forum. Clearly, the dissensions of their age were not at issue any more, the wounds of the civil wars inflicted before the birth of the Princeps were healed by now, and one could attempt an objective evaluation of the contributions of both these great generals to the history of Rome. What about the two succeeding generations? Julius Caesar himself, of course, had his own very special and elevated place in the Forum. Like his son, he too was far too exalted to claim a regular place in the Gallery of Heroes in the porticoes. The suggestion that it was indeed his gigantic statue that occupied the *Sala di Colosso* has much to be said for it.[155] There are also credible arguments for the inclusion of Caesar's great rival Pompey in the Gallery.[156] Certain facts concerning the attitude of the Princeps to such opponents of Caesar as Cato and Cicero may at least leave the question of their inclusion open.[157] But on any account we can be sure of the exclusion of the enemies of the Princeps himself, that is to say the enemies of the Republic: the self-styled Liberators and the traitor in service of the Foreign Queen were certainly not represented among the heroes of the Republic. Otherwise one could hardly understand the total boycotting of the memories of Brutus and Cassius under the Early Empire,[158] or the oblivion of Antony despite the fact that some of his descendants were part of the family of the Princeps and that three of them were actually destined to rule the Empire in succession.[159] What has been said of canons is true of an official gathering of the sort we encounter here, namely that exclusion is as significant as inclusion.

Among the great many things with which we are not cognizant concerning the Forum of Augustus perhaps none is more distressing than our total ignorance as to the success, or otherwise, of its contemporary educational intent. In a later chapter (ch. 7) we shall discuss whether it is possible to detect among later writers traces of the influence of Augustus' choice of heroes for his Forum. As far as the uneducated

[155] See above, n. 111.

[156] Frisch 1980, and see Augustus' attitude in *RG* 20.1:...*Pompeium theatrum*...*refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei.*

[157] Geiger 2005, 240, and see below, ch. 5.

[158] Their celebrated absence from the funeral of Iunia (Tac. *a.* 3.76 fin.) can be taken as almost direct evidence for their absence from the Forum dominated by the Temple of their Avenger.

[159] Claudius was Mark Antony's grandson, and both Gaius and Nero were his great-grandsons; Drusus the brother of Tiberius was married to his daughter.

lower classes are concerned, there is simply no telling whether the device of the Princeps to educate them to a common, marked, historical awareness was successful at all. (And, in the absence of the modern mechanisms of testing popular opinion—whatever their worth—how could the Princeps himself measure his success?) In all probability in the long run it did not matter. Very soon under the Principate Republican history became irrelevant, a literary theme taken up from time to time by elite writers and poets but apparently without any interest for the masses. The Principate was a completed fact, and the only major question of serious political consequence came to be whether a particular Princeps was good or bad.

Despite the numerous discussions pertaining to the literary influences on Augustus' choice of heroes, including repeated references to Varro,[160] some remarkable facts seem not to have caught students' eyes. The most prominent of these, and of immediate interest to the present discussion, concerns an important but hitherto disregarded piece of information in the excavated part of the Forum. We are now able to combine this piece of information with a recent archaeological discovery. This evidence has far-reaching consequences for the arrangement of the Gallery of Heroes and goes a long way towards proving Varro's influence on the scheme.

The best-preserved, and consequently best-understood, part of that gallery are the two sections of circles on both sides, often also called the exedrae, from which it is believed that the two long porticoes extended to the full length of the Forum, some of which has not been excavated and is unfortunately impossible to excavate, lying as it does under the Via dei Fori Imperiali. As is still clearly to be seen, the exedrae were two storeys high, as against the presumably ground-level porticoes, and had niches between the pilasters on both levels. The central niche on each side was larger both in width and in height than the others and, as is universally accepted, contained respectively the statues of Aeneas carrying Anchises and holding the hand of Ascanius, and of Romulus carrying the *spolia opima*. The scions of the Julian House were aligned on the side of Aeneas, the *summi viri* of Rome on that of Romulus. The clearly visible remains of the north-western hemicycle leave no doubt as to the number of niches in both exedrae: there were fifteen niches

[160] Horsfall 1980 points briefly to the influence of Varro's *imagines*, without anticipating the main arguments in the following; cf. also the 'anonymous reader' at Luce 1990, 134 n. 29.

Fig. 3. The remains of the north-western exedra. Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome. The position of the niches in the upper row above those in the lower is to be seen clearly.

in the row—in other words, to the right and to the left of each of the exceptionally big central sculptures in the larger niches there stood seven figures on each side, four times seven in all. As for the second storey, it too was arranged in groups of seven niches,[161] though these

[161] The scheme of Spannagel 1999, 278–82, according to whom the upper row went on continuously and hence contained a larger number (16 or 17) of niches, was invented to accommodate his erroneous ideas as to the number of the kings of Alba Longa represented in the Forum. Not only does it run counter to common sense, it is belied by the archaeological evidence (see fig. 3), which clearly shows that the niches in the upper row were arranged exactly above those of the lower ones. There is absolutely no warranty for his proposal (279) that the Latin (rather than only Alban) kings were

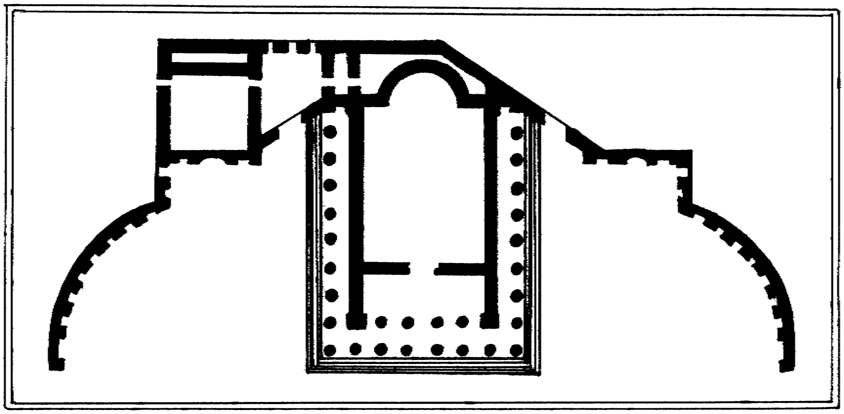

Fig. 4. Plan of the *Forum Augustum*. After Palladio. The seven niches of each exedra are clearly indicated.

were appreciably smaller than those on the ground floor.[162] Whether these, too, contained statues, in which case the former figures will have to be doubled, or else other objects, will be discussed somewhat later. At any rate it is absolutely astonishing that this hebdomadic arrangement, clearly to be seen not only by every visitor to Augustus' Forum (or indeed any chance modern observer from the street above) but also by anybody who cares to look at any sketches of it from Palladio on (fig. 4), has not been noticed or discussed by any of the many scholars dealing with the Forum.[163] As has been mentioned in the previous

arranged in the upper niches, starting with Aeneas closest to the Temple, cf. below, ch. 5. Zanker 1968 in his *Falttafel* at the end of the book (repeated at Zanker 1990, 194 fig. 149) assigns in the north-western exedra seven niches each (without expressly uttering the number) to the Iulii and the Alban kings; he also assigns room to the *summi viri* also in the portico on this side: this is still kept in the figure copied in Zanker 1990, 194 fig. 149, but corrected tacitly at 210–11. I do not quite follow the formulation of Evans 1992, 110: '…fifteen small niches, which flank a large, central niche'.

[162] See e.g. Zanker 1968, 15; contra Spannagel 1999, 260–1.

[163] Among the easily accessible plans is that of Degrassi, *InscrIt.* XIII.3 opp. p. XXIV, in a large format, where the number of niches is very clearly set out; moreover, he explicitly speaks (p. 2) of fourteen niches and then (p. 4) of the fourteen Alban kings without noticing the connexion between the two; cf. also Spannagel 1999, 279 n. 140. Most strange is Favro 1996, 96 fig. 50, who chooses to draw the exedrae without the niches altogether; she sticks to this scheme also in Favro 2005, 239 fig. 37, where the newly discovered exedrae (see below) are also shown. Rather oddly, in the same volume Barchiesi 2005, 283 fig. 49 has the four exedrae with the niches in the two old ones correctly entered. Yet even without looking at the remains one gets the information in the most basic work, viz. *CIL* I^2 p. 187: *Exedrae duae aediculas habent quaternas denas.*

chapter, the central feature of Varro's *imagines*, also called *hebdomades*, was their arrangement in groups of seven (or their multiples).

In fact, it is not altogether impossible that Varro's fascination with hebdomads considerably predated the publication of the *imagines*, let alone their influence on the Forum of Augustus. In the theatre of Pompey, Varro's pupil in matters of the Roman constitution,[164] there were statues representing the fourteen nations conquered by him.[165] Pliny names as his source Varro, who also supplied the name of the sculptor, the otherwise unknown Coponius. The names of the fourteen nations inscribed on boards in the triumph of Pompey[166] were certainly identical with those represented by the statues.[167] Significantly, Plutarch's list arouses strong suspicions that the arrangement was somewhat artificial in order to arrive exactly at the required number (see the end of the list: (12) τὰ περὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Παλαιστίνην, (13) Judaea, (14) Arabia).[168] This suspicion is found to be well founded when the list is compared with the much longer one attributed to an inscription of Pompey by Diod. Sic. 40.4,[169] and the much shorter ones found in App. *Mithr.* 116.568 as well as in what can be fitted into the available space left by the lacuna in the Capitoline Fasti.[170] Surely the emphasis of Varro's disciple Pompey on the number seven or multiples thereof would be too remarkable for a coincidence. Since conquered nations were also represented in the Forum of Augustus[171] one should not dismiss out of hand the possibility that here too a Varronian scheme was employed.[172] Moreover, strangely enough, even though the inclusion of the Alban kings in this gallery is now *communis opinio*, scholars fail to take notice of the significance of their number.

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[164] See Gell. 14.7.2.

[165] Plin. *nh.* 36.41; cf. Cancik 1997, 130–1.

[166] Plut. *Pomp.* 45.

[167] Note that Plin. *nh* 7.98 also lists fourteen nations over whom Pompey triumphed, if we count *de rege Mithridate atque Tigrane* as one. The discussion of Bellemore 2000 totally ignores the significance of the number fourteen. Beard 2003, 30 mistakenly speaks of fifteen nations but stops short of enumerating them.

[168] Heftner ad loc. has nothing to say about the number fourteen or about the rather strange arrangement of the last three items in the list.

[169] For a rather speculative account of this see Vogel-Weidemann 1985.

[170] *CIL* I^2 p. 50 and Mommsen's n. on p. 54.

[171] See Vell. 2.39.2, and cf. Alföldy 1992.

[172] Kumaniecki 1974–5 argues that Varro's *liber isagogicus* to Pompey was already Pythagorically influenced and thus numerology was already apparent there. For the location of the statues see the discussion in Swan 2004, 324 n.

Indeed, the tradition of the list of Alban kings, as opposed to that of the seven kings of Rome, is far from straightforward. From what to the best of my knowledge is still the most comprehensive review of the various strands of tradition[173] it appears that though some of the names in the list vary it seems to have been generally agreed that their number was fifteen, that is Aeneas and fourteen[174] more. In all probability fourteen was the canonical number and the addition of Aeneas as one outside this list was a later doublet. As so often—it is enough to remind one of the various lists of the Seven Hills of Rome, but many more examples could be cited—the very disagreement about the composition of the list coupled with the consensus about the number is the best proof of the latter's significance.[175]

This of course leaves us with what will appear at first sight a real difficulty, that is, how to square the Alban king-list of Aeneas plus fourteen more kings with the Aeneas-group in the central niche of the north-eastern hemicycle plus fourteen more statues, one of which was that of Aeneas himself.[176] I do not think that a refusal to abandon

[173] Trieber 1894. Brugnoli 1983, 157–9, with discussion of earlier literature, refers also to a possible earlier version of twelve kings (Fraccaro's thirteen do not include Aeneas); what matters of course is that by the time of the erection of the Augustan Forum the contemporary Ovid operates with the number fourteen (see below). In most of the remainder of his paper (163–90) Brugnoli is engaged in demonstrating Virgil's awareness of these 'canonical' twelve—if we add Aeneas and Ascanius, these will make fourteen.

[174] Cf. Degrassi in *InscrIt.* XIII.3 p. 4: '. . . quattuordecim statuas . . . regibus Albanis'. Here and in the following discussion I am correcting what I have written at Geiger 1998, 306.

[175] The attractive suggestion of Mommsen (admittedly written before Trieber's paper) at *CIL* I p. 283, according to whom one of the two reasons for the invention of the Alban king-list was 'ut impleretur numerus annorum 432 [viz. between the destruction of Troy and the foundation of Rome, deducting Aeneas' wanderings] vel deductis Aeneae tribus annorum 429, fictos esse reges tredecim, quorum cum singulis solito computandi more tertia saeculi pars adscriberetur, effectus est sic (13 × 33 = 429) summa quae requirebatur', fails to take account of the fact that the canonical number of the kings was one more than postulated by him. But he may well have been on the right track if we assume a tradition with twelve rather than three years for Aeneas, and thirty (another widely accepted time span for generations) for each of the following fourteen kings, that is 432 = (14 × 30) + 12 rather than 432 = (13 × 33) + 3. Trieber 1894, 138–40 considers some slight variations in the figures: these can be easily harmonised with the present proposal, changing the number of Aeneas' years only slightly. Juggling with numbers was the rule with ancient scholars, moderns are only trying to disentangle the problems created by them.

[176] For the inscription attesting the statue of Aeneas among the Alban kings see discussion below, ch. 5.

the thesis of a Varronian scheme of (at least some) hebdomads in the Forum, against all the evidence assembled here and in the following, can count as obstinacy, or worse, as the subjection of facts to theory. As has been mentioned above, such lists tend to cling much more to significant, traditional, numbers than to the actual members: for a place among the canon of the Seven Sages, whose number has never been doubted, there were not less than seventeen contenders,[177] there were various lists for the Seven Wonders of the World,[178] and, much closer to our problem, even the Seven Kings of Rome necessitated the elimination of one of them in the Forum.[179] It does not appear that the reduction of the list of Latin kings to fourteen, including Aeneas, would have presented a real difficulty, nor that many antiquaries in Rome would have quarrelled with the Princeps over the exclusion of a person with some traditional claim. Moreover, the central statue-group depicting Aeneas together with Anchises and Ascanius is (with the corresponding sculpture of Romulus carrying the *spolia opima*) something altogether exceptional in the long row of single statues of men (and women, as we shall see), so that there is actually no duplication in also having a regular statue of Aeneas among his peers.

As things stand, there seems to be no self-evident solution for the exact composition of the Alban king-list of the Forum of Augustus. Most remarkably Ovid, our contemporary source in his *Fasti* for the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum, gives us elsewhere two somewhat different lists:[180] both consist of fourteen kings including Aeneas and neither appears to be in full harmony with the fragments of the inscriptions from the Forum. How to square this with his acquaintance with the Forum will have to remain a mystery, though his insistence on the canonical number seems to me significant.

Though I find this much less likely, one can imagine that, alternatively, if the canon of Alban kings was fifteen, viz. Aeneas + fourteen, a slightly different arrangement of Varro's *hebdomades* may be envisaged. According to a prevailing hypothesis,[181] the opening book was composed

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[177] Diog. La. 1.41–2.

[178] See e.g. Kl. Pauly s.v. Weltwunder.

[179] See discussion below, ch. 5.

[180] Ov. *f.* 4. 39–54; *met.* 14. 609–22.

[181] The entire discussion is printed in Ritschl 1877, 508–92, with Ritschl providing the main hypothesis for the disposition of the work and L. Mercklin (at 530–44) supplying the correction (approved by Ritschl) concerning the fourteen *coryphaei* of book one; also contributing were H. Brunn, L. Urlichs and M. Schmidt.

of the archetypal figures of each group, and if accordingly the arrangement of the *hebdomades* was (7 × 7) + 1 or, with my correction, in some cases also multiplies of 7, viz. ([×7 + 7y] = 49) + 1, then Aeneas may well have figured as the fiftieth in a group that consisted of fourteen Alban, seven Roman and perhaps fourteen foreign kings[182] plus two more hebdomads, or, better still, another group of twice seven—perhaps the fourteen royal women famous for their manlike virtue?[183] At any rate, as far as Aeneas is concerned, it will not be too bold to suggest that the Founding Father of the Roman People would not have been missed among these so to speak *coryphaei*. In an aside it may be remarked that, if Varro indeed featured fifty kings, then generals and statesmen would be included in a different section.

Though there exists no explicit evidence for Varro's discussing the list of Alban kings, and hence he does not figure in Trieber's table, it is difficult to imagine that he did not apply himself to such an obvious antiquarian task. For instance, the computing of the foundation date of Rome may have provided a good opportunity for such a discussion. To all appearances he must have been in agreement with, if not actually the source of, the canonical number. Thus the agreement between the number of niches—including the oversized central ones—and Varronian numerology should not be ascribed to coincidence.[184]

Another piece of circumstantial evidence may be adduced. One of the longest-lasting administrative reforms of Augustus was his division of the City into fourteen *regiones*.[185] This important measure followed close upon the fire of 7 BCE,[186] although we cannot tell whether it had not been planned well ahead. The institution of the *vigiles* by 6

[182] Probably those listed in Nepos' chapter *de regibus*, cf. Geiger 1998, 308.

[183] That is, the fourteen warrior women of the anonymous *de mulieribus claris*, see Gera 1997, and cf. Geiger 1998, 308–9.

[184] As we shall see, the hypothesis that the seven kings of Rome were also included—certainly on the side of the *summi viri*—is based on more than common sense. There too Romulus had a statue of his own in the row of the kings in addition to his statue carrying the *spolia opima* in the central niche, so that there existed an almost complete correspondence between the Alban and the Roman kings. For circumstantial evidence for the seven kings of Rome see also below, ch. 5. One should also take into account the proposition that the statue in the so-called Room of the Colossus was one of Julius Caesar (see above). Since his statue was most prominently displayed in the adjacent Temple of Mars Ultor (see e.g. Zanker 1990, 197 fig. 151), it appears that such duplications did not arouse undue uneasiness in the planners of the project.

[185] Suet. *Aug.* 30.1 only registers the Augustan authorship without bothering to quote the well known number.

[186] Dio 55.8.5–7.

CE, each of whose seven cohorts was responsible for two *regiones*,[187] is connected in some way with this division. At any rate it is a curious fact that no source offers an explanation[188] (that is, not for the very fact of division, but for the specific number involved) for such an enduring and influential decision. Nevertheless, the connexion with Varro, and with the Ciceronian and Varronian view of the City of Seven Hills, is so self-evident that it must occur to everybody dealing with the problem.[189] For our immediate purpose it may be noted, first, that Augustus seems to have acted on a Varronian scheme decades after the demise of that scholar and in fact at the very same time when his Forum will have been among his major preoccupations and, second, that, although in all probability Varronian numerology was employed, practicality was not sacrificed to theory, viz. the division of the City was envisaged along perfectly practical lines, without paying heed, for instance, to the Seven Hills, or somehow artificially connecting them with the newly established regions.[190]

Whatever the exact extent of the influence of Varro, we may be reasonably sure that at least one source of inspiration for Augustus' list is fairly well established. It would be pressing the evidence unnecessarily to assume that the arrangement by groups of seven or their multiples was universal or even of very wide import; still, it is difficult to accept here a sheer coincidence. It is not the purpose of the present discussion—nor was it, I believe, the intention of Augustus—to bring things *ad absurdum*. Varro may have sacrificed some material and some common sense on the altar of his whimsical scheme; educating a people is not a matter to play with and the Princeps had serious business to do. It would be unreasonable to suppose that the Varronian numerological scheme was kept throughout the project. However, perhaps it may have been applied beyond the inclusion of the Alban (and most

[187] *D.* 1.15.3 pr. (Paulus).

[188] Nor does the extensive discussion of Haselberger 2007, 223–37, assigning a revolutionary importance to the new division of the city, deal with the significance of the number involved.

[189] See e.g. *LTUR* IV 199–204 (D. Palombi, s.v. Regiones Quattuordecim [topografia]). Though there is no direct evidence for Varronian influence on the division of the City into fourteen *regiones*, Palombi draws attention to the fact, without expressly saying so, that in Varro *LL* 5.45–54 the four ancient *regiones* are subdivided into fourteen parts.

[190] I am passing over the story of Livy 40.29.3–14 (cf. Val. Max. 1.1.12) that in 181 the books of Numa were found under the Ianiculus, *septem Latini de iure pontificum erant, septem Graeci de disciplina sapientiae* (§ 7). Livy quotes Valerius Antias as his source, and thus Varro was not the provenance for his version of the story, though he may have put it to some use later.

probably Roman) kings. If the suggestion, according to which Nepos' list of fourteen foreign kings derived from Varro, were to be accepted, this would undoubtedly strengthen the case for the Alban and probably also the Roman kings. Who else inhabited the remaining seven niches alongside the kings of Rome cannot be known, and it would be unnecessarily heaping hypotheses one on another to assume that there were female statues to correspond to the Julian ladies on the opposite side (cf. below, ch. 5).

The fact that hitherto no attention has been paid to the arrangement of the niches by sevens, an arrangement to be observed already on the earliest illustrations of the Forum (see above), is nothing short of astounding. But new evidence brings this arrangement even more to the fore and lends our suggestion additional force. In the recent excavations of the Imperial fora,[191] though mainly aimed at the Forum of Trajan rather than that of Augustus, a momentous discovery has been made. Under the structure of the south side of the Forum of Trajan the foundations of an additional hemicycle of the *Forum Augustum*, somewhat smaller than the known ones, have been discovered, no doubt pointing to the existence of a symmetrical one on the opposite side.[192] Until now one may have concluded that the Varronian arrangement was very partial and pertained only to the hemicycles discussed above, perhaps restricted to royal or other exceptional personages. Now the additional hemicycles add greater clarity to the picture—hemicycle following hemicycle must have given further scope to something resembling the Varronian scheme. Absolute certainty is not to be had, ignorant as we are about the exact details of Varro's work, but it seems safe to conclude that we are not dealing here with a coincidence. The third and fourth exedrae[193] housed statues arranged in groups of seven. Incidentally, the 'somewhat smaller size' (*di misura poco più piccola*) of these hemicycles finds an almost natural explanation in the assumption that

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[191] La Rocca 2001, 184; see also e.g. Haselberger 2002, 130–1; illustration of the revised plan in Favro 2005, 239 fig. 37, with reservation below, n. 192.

[192] La Rocca 2001, 184: 'sotto le strutture dal lato sud del foro di Trajano, si sono scoperte le fondazioni di un'altra esedra, di misura poco più piccola di quelle già conosciute. Il foro di Augusto aveva, quindi, in origine non due, bensì quattro esedre: sembra difficile dubitare, infatti, che l'esedra appena rinvenuta non avesse il suo pendant dall'altro lato.' Incredibly, in his most recent publication La Rocca (2006, 120) presents a 'pianta ricostruttiva' purporting to render 'stato 2004' without the newly discovered exedrae.

[193] Even though excavation of the full length of the Forum is impracticable it seems well nigh impossible that there existed another, third pair of hemicycles.

they differed from the first ones in that they did not contain the elaborate larger central niches—no further parallels for the Aeneas-group and to Romulus were produced (see fig. 5).[194] Of course, such an interpretation makes the one resting on architectural considerations alone and disregarding the importance of the statuary unconvincing and entirely superfluous.[195] Regrettably, it will in all probability never be possible to solve the question of whether the second pair of exedras, too, had a second storey.[196]

It seems that the hebdomadic arrangement of the Gallery of Heroes had not escaped the eyes of Augustus' contemporaries and of the succeeding generations. Stewart[197] in his discussion of the role of statues in the Greek East refers to Boatwright[198] for the notion that Plancia Magna's city gate at Perge 'may even echo the Forum of Augustus'. Indeed that scholar had argued (198), adducing a number of prominent examples from the Greek East, that 'the inspiration for such eclectic sculptural programs ultimately may be the Forum of Augustus, whose exedra walls displayed Rome's founding deities and historical personages, and emphasized the lineage of Augustus'. Boatwright may well be right as far as the inspiration and general idea are concerned, but remarkably she (like Stewart) apparently failed to notice the most prominent feature that links the city gate of Perge to the Forum of Augustus. The entrance as revised by Plancia Magna was made 'to form a horseshoe-shaped courtyard... Each wall was decorated internally by two levels of seven niches, making a total of twenty-eight niches...' (192), each containing a statue with an inscribed base. Indeed, just like the Forum of Augustus (fig. 6).[199] What seems to have escaped the eye of modern scholars was apparent to a wealthy and educated lady from

[194] There is absolutely no warrant for the addition of a space for a large sculptural group, as in the illustration of both Favro 2005, 239 fig. 37 and Barchiesi 2005, 283 fig. 49.

[195] La Rocca 2002, 184–91 discusses the functions of the exedrae, considered briefly already at La Rocca 1998, 169–70: these are not dependent on the possible influences on their conception.

[196] A somewhat bolder construction might maintain that the newly discovered hemicycles designed to hold fourteen statues each without the partition by the central groups between the *hebdomades* were designed purposefully for groups of fourteen, rather than seven, statues. For the double *hebdomades* see Geiger 1998.

[197] Stewart 2003, 162–3.

[198] Boatwright 1993, 204 and 198.

[199] This, incidentally, would support, however circumstantially, the view that in the Forum of Augustus the upper niches also contained statues, and cf. below, ch. 5.

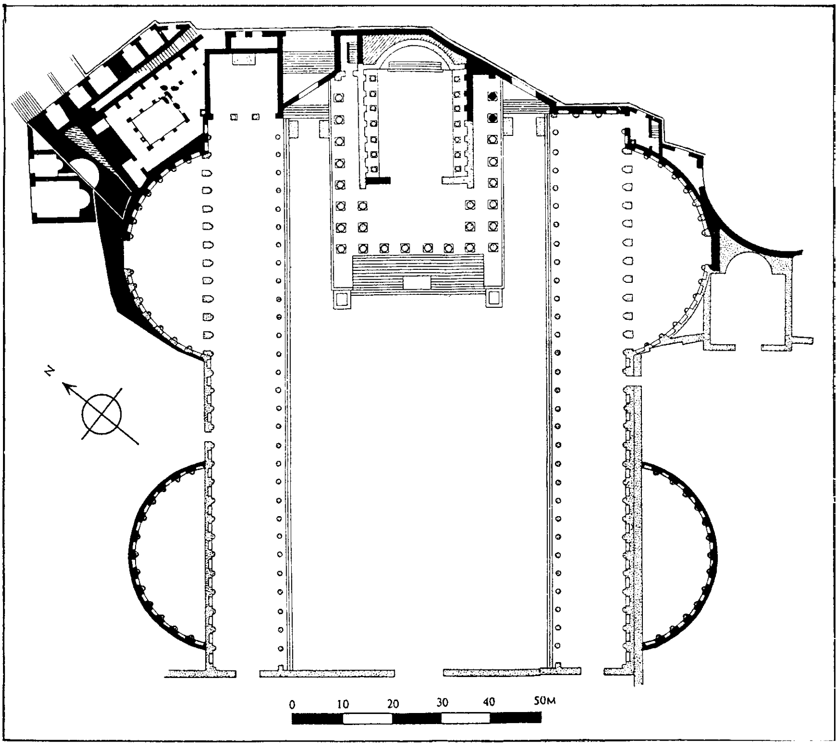

Fig. 5. Plan of the *Forum Augustum* after the recent excavations. Drawing by Daniela Dueck.

Fig. 6. City gate of Perge. Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome. Note the seven niches on each of the two floors.

Asia Minor. Of course, she had the advantage of the entire scheme being available to her and noticed something that was probably plain and known to anybody who cared to know. It seems now that the traces of the influence of Varro gather strength by their multiplication.

It may be noted that the city gate of Perge was not unique. Not very far from there also the city gate of Side exhibits the same features. What was a semicircular defensive structure has been transformed in Roman times, perhaps towards the end of the second century CE, into an imposing courtyard with a main floor with seven niches on each side; it is assumed that there existed a second floor with the same number of niches. In the niches stood on round bases statues of gods and of persons who deserved well of the city.[200] Whether the influence here is direct or at second hand cannot be known, and at any rate no influence of the *Forum Augustum* is mentioned in Müfid Mansel's book.

That the above considerations concerning Varronian influence on the hebdomadic arrangement of the *Forum Augustum* are not pure fancy may be supported also by an analogy. In a recent exhaustive study of Septimius Severus' *Septizodium* dedicated in 203[201]—a study that incidentally does not make mention of the *Forum Augustum*—great emphasis is laid on the connexions of the building with the number seven. Besides the general connexions between Septimius Severus, the *gens Septimia* and the number seven (337–8), we are told in a discussion of the name of the structure (344–5) that 'the presence of seven statue-niches provides a more compelling reason for the name' (345); 'there was space on the plan for a total of seven rounded exedras' (355), and in discussing similar buildings in North Africa it is asserted that '[t]he fully excavated structure at Cincari…comprised seven round niches', 'at Lambesis…[i]ts façade…also had seven niches' (358).[202]

The connexion of another point with Varro is more tentative. It will be seen (below, ch. 5) that there must have been considerable disparity between the number of candidates among the members of the Julian family and those of the Great and Good of the Republic. One gets the impression that only by strenuous efforts could some balance be kept.

[200] Müfid Mansel 1963, 36–7, and fig. 20 (plan) on p. 33 and fig. 22 (reconstruction) on p. 35. Statues of two very different sizes were found, and it has been assumed that the small ones stood on the upper floor, though the reconstruction makes both floors equal in size. I am grateful to Judit Gartner for this reference.

[201] Thomas 2007.

[202] For Severus' pervasive imitation of Augustus (not discussing, however, his Forum) see Cooley 2007.

The *elogium* of C. Julius Caesar, the father of the Dictator, is a clear case in point. His son was the only real distinction of the man, and his inclusion may be seen as a symptom of the scarcity of available candidates. Another instance is the rather insignificant C. Iulius Caesar Strabo who had to come to the rescue of the relatively small numbers of Iulii. Perhaps another remedy was at hand. It has been maintained in an earlier discussion[203] that Varro's *hebdomades* may well have included groups of famous women—by no means the only instance known to us of such a scheme in the biographical literature of the age.[204] There is no need to press the expression *summi viri*, even without disparaging its rather discreditable provenance,[205] to be referring solely to men, to the absolute exclusion of women. After all, public statues for women in Rome were anything but a novelty—a significant number of examples may be provided.[206] It may be also noteworthy that Cloelia is depicted among the Roman heroes on the shield of Aeneas (Verg. *Aen.* 8.651); Manilius imitated this by including her in his list of the virtuous who ascend to the Milky Way and to Life Eternal (1.780),[207] and he may also have been influenced by a statue of her, if such was in evidence, in the *Forum Augustum* (see below, ch. 7). Remembering the alignment of the two groups of personages with the two reigning deities of the Forum (leaving aside for the moment the third, the Deified Julius), Mars and Venus, one may perhaps object less to the inclusion of women on the side of the ancestress of the Julian House, worshipped also in the Forum of the Divine Julius himself—completed earlier by Augustus—as Venus Genetrix. Nor should one forget the status of some women of that family. Caesar's aunt and the wife of Marius for one, eulogised by him in his first public appearance, in the funeral oration held in his

[203] Geiger 1998.

[204] See e.g. Charon, *FrGH* 1077, whose date is unknown, and above all Gera 1997; see also above ch. 3 n. 76.

[205] *SHA Alex.* 28.6: *summorum virorum statuas*; we have already seen that both Suetonius and Dio were somewhat loose in their language and that they should not be unduly pressed.

[206] On statues of women see the discussions in Sehlmeyer 1999, 98–101 (Cloelia), 126–8 (Quinta Claudia), 187–9 (Cornelia *mater Gracchorum*), and cf. Flory 1993; Trimble 2000, 51. Circumstantially one may add *laudationes*: even on a minimalist view following Cicero (Hemelrijk 2004, 187), the *laudatio* of Q. Lutatius Catulus cos. 102 for his mother Popilia was the first safely attested case, some three or four generations prior to the erection of statues in the Forum of Augustus.

[207] Cf. also Man. 1.768, who puts among the Greek heroes the *Mavortia virgo* (= the Amazon Penthesilea).

quaestorship.[208] Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how such a lady, in the famous words of that oration descended from kings on her mother's side, and from gods on her father's, could be absent from that august assembly—both the kings and the gods alluded to were represented in the Forum. Other women who were likely candidates to be included among the statuary were the sister of the Dictator, the grandmother of Augustus himself as well as her daughter Atia, Caesar's niece and Augustus' mother, the Princeps' genetic links with his adoptive father.[209] But, more importantly, there exists explicit evidence for erection of public statues for Augustan women before the completion of, or conceivably even before the contemplation of, the Forum. In 35 BCE, as part of a number of privileges granted, public statues were set up both to Augustus' sister Octavia and to Livia[210], and again in 9 BCE to Livia, to console her on the death of her son Drusus.[211] Moreover, the possible or likely inclusion of female statues in galleries representing the Imperial family in the Augustan Age in places like Lucus Feroniae or Buthrotum,[212] and portraits of Livia and Octavia at such places as Glanum in the Provence,[213] renders their appearance in the Forum of Augustus the more likely. Also the heads of the colossal statues of Livia and Agrippina Minor, along with those of Nerva and Vespasian, in the Forum of Trajan[214] may well go back, like so much else in that project, to the Augustan model. Add to these the general considerations concerning the quasi-divine status of Livia:[215] one hopes to have avoided here a vicious circle and employed rather what Keith Hopkins called a 'wigwam argument', with the general considerations and the details supporting each other.

In fact there seem to exist some positive pieces of evidence for the inclusion of women in the statue gallery of the Forum, not only arguments that would make their absence less than self-evident. First, an

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[208] Suet. *Iul.* 6.1. For Caesar and *laudationes funebres* for women see Hillard 2001.
[209] For an illuminating discussion of the status of Imperial women see Purcell 1986.
[210] Dio 49.38.1; the statues may have been granted by *s.c.*, see Flory 1993, 287 n. 1; Bartman 1999, 62–8.
[211] Dio 55.2.5. For Livia's portraits see Wood 1999, 73–141; Barrett 2002, 258–62; neither of these indicates an interest in the *Forum Augustum*.
[212] Trimble 2000, 55; 62.
[213] Bartman 1999, 78–80.
[214] Packer 1997, 71, 105, 426, and see below, ch. 7.
[215] Barrett 2002, 162; 194–7; 207–13.

inscription found at Lavinium[216] reads LAVINIA LATINI | FILIA. Were it not for the preconception that women were not part of the statuary of the Forum of Augustus, there would be good reason to assign this inscription to the copies of those in Rome. This of course does not eliminate the claim of Mommsen and Huelsen that the statue was put up to honour the ancestress of the town, it only presents it as a choice made from a pre-existent model. Actually, an inscription from the *Forum Iulium*, in all probability also echoing one from the *Forum Augustum*, may be assigned to the same lady.[217] Another fragmentary inscription, perhaps an Augustan *elogium* though possibly not from the Forum, may be attributed to a lady of the Julian family,[218] thus increasing the probabilities for women's statues in the Forum by circumstantial evidence. The possible allocation of a very fragmentary inscription to Octavia, the sister of Augustus, has been rejected by the editors.[219] To these epigraphic hints one may add the more solid evidence of the remains of a female statue,[220] gaining circumstantial support both from possible provincial copies[221] and from the fact that what might have been the Hellenistic inspiration of the Augustan gallery did contain statues of women.[222] It seems to me that the evidence for the inclusion of statues of women among the ancestors of the Iulii is fairly convincing even if we do not postulate the influence of Varro (admittedly only uncertainly established as a biographer of women).[223] Indeed, Augustus may have

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[216] *CIL* I^2 p. 189 no. II; cf. Hirschfeld 1876, 85 n. 1.

[217] *CIL* VI.8.3 40930. The two editors are (as often) of different views: Chioffi would assign the inscription to Latinus, Alföldy to Lavinia.

[218] *CIL* VI.8.3 41025; the identifications proposed are Julia, Caesar's daughter and Pompey's wife, or a lady of the Augustan family buried in the Mausoleum.

[219] *CIL* VI.8.3 40301.

[220] La Rocca 1995, I 81: 'il frammento di una statua femminile denuncia la presenza nel Foro anche di donne celebri', and see there II 80 no. 28. Bartman 1999, 79 indeed deems this single piece of evidence sufficient to prove the existence of female statues in the Forum. She does not raise the possibility that these were women of the Julian House, but thinks rather that they were 'intended as a role model for contemporary womanhood. Thus these ensembles helped to legitimate imperial women by providing a historical and cultural context for their new positions.'

[221] López 1996, and cf. below, ch. 7.

[222] Sauron 1981 discusses the exedra of the kings of Argos in Delphi which includes the Danae, Alcmene and perhaps Hypermestra; cf. Schmidt-Colinet 1991, 46.

[223] Lewis 1988 suggests, to my mind not convincingly, a gallery of statues of exemplary mothers, accompanying the well-known one of Cornelia, in the *porticus Octaviae*. Among the reasons for such a gallery he adduces (200) 'perhaps provision of female counterparts to the male worthies of past and present celebrated in the Forum Augusti'.

had enough reasons for including women even without postulating his acquaintance with the hebdomadic scheme of Varro.

To these arguments a piece of literary evidence may be added in favour of the inclusion of women also on the side designed for the *summi viri*. Silius Italicus in the thirteenth book of his epic on the Second Punic War lets Scipio visit the Underworld, where Rome's heroes are paraded before him in a Virgilian manner. In verses 806–30 he inserts, after a procession of heroes ending with Brutus, Camillus, Curius Dentatus and Lutatius, and after the Greeks from Alexander, Homer and Achilles down to Odysseus and Castor (whose turn in the Underworld it happens to be) and before the final group of Marius, Sulla, Pompey and Caesar, a series of women. Now it could be argued that this un-Virgilian insertion is an invention of the poet. Quite possibly. However, it pays to have a good look at the parade of these women: Lavinia, Hersilia, Carmentis, Tanaquil, Lucretia, Virginia and Cloelia make a very handsome hebdomad indeed. Possibly a coincidence, but most probably not.[224] It may be added that after these seven women another group of three bad women is displayed (831–50), consisting of Tullia, Tarpeia and a Vestal who lost her chastity: whatever brought about the insertion of these, I do not believe that they detract from the attractiveness of the hebdomad of heroines.

It seems to me that the case for the inclusion of women among the statuary of the *Forum Augustum* is well established. However much some would like to fight today's (but perhaps already yesterday's) conflicts on ancient battlefields, there seems to be no truth in the assertion that the 'Forum of Augustus was…a sexually charged, gendered masculine environment'.[225]

It is to be hoped that the above general considerations clarified some of the issues pertaining to the overall layout and character of Augustus' Hall of Fame. It is now time to turn to its particular arrangements and to the statues contained in it.

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[224] Reitz 1982, 120–3 puts her emphasis on the personification of virtues but fails to observe that the group consists of seven women.

[225] Kellum 1996, 170, repeated verbatim at 1997, 165; cf. also Newlands 1995, 105: 'The Forum Augustum, overtly martial and male in theme'.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE HEROES

The recent expert re-edition of the *elogia* from the *Forum Augustum* in *CIL* VI.8.3 provides the basis for a new list of the honorands as far as it can be now known. The promised definitive edition of the fragments of statuary hitherto discovered[1] may perhaps add further particulars to our knowledge. First, for how many statues was there room in the Forum? Are we in a position to know how many of these places were actually occupied?[2] Can anything be said about the actual arrangement of the statues?

Starting from the Temple end of the Forum there were two spaces for statues beyond the north-western hemicycle and four beyond the south-eastern hemicycle.[3] The first two hemicycles were, as can still be clearly seen in the remains of the south-eastern side, two storeys high. Whether the upper storeys with their smaller niches also contained statues or rather trophies[4] cannot be determined, though a number of considerations can be put forward.[5] Instinctively one would rather doubt that two rows of statues of different sizes would be planned one above the other—the upper niches are appreciably smaller.[6] One should also take into account that if there were smaller statues in the upper niches they would appear smaller still to the spectator from below. Also the inscriptions in the upper storeys would be more difficult to read from ground level. On the other hand the fragments of the inscriptions

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[1] See Rinaldi Tufi 1981.

[2] Degrassi in *InscrIt.* XIII.3 p. 2 calculates, or rather guesses, 'at most' (*ad summum*) 108; this number is repeated as if exact and proven by e.g. Frisch 1980, 91; Kolb 1995, 361; the latter also adds that they were of marble and of bronze.

[3] The 'colossus' in its special room, probably a statue of Julius Caesar (Spannagel 1999, 304–16 with discussion of earlier scholarship), will be disregarded as not belonging to the Gallery proper.

[4] So Zanker 1968, 15; the placing of statues in the upper niches was denied already in *CIL* I^2 p. 187 but maintained in *InscrIt.* XIII.3 p. 2.

[5] Could the entire assemblage be somehow connected to the multiple-storey *scaenae frontes* of Roman theatres? See Zanker 1979, 297.

[6] Spannagel 1999, 260–1 would opt for statues on both levels, assuming—against the clearly visible evidence—equal sizes for the niches.

of Caesar Strabo, of the father of Julius Caesar and of Drusus[7] were found in the north-western hemicycle: if *in situ*, they would be a strong argument in favour of their having occupied places in the upper storey, since the fourteen available places in the lower storey did in all probability contain the fourteen Alban kings (see below). Yet they may have occupied places in the intercolumniations opposite the kings. Again, the similar arrangement of twice fourteen niches on two levels in the city-gate of Perge as well as in that of Side (see above, ch. 4) makes the occupation of both levels by statues the more likely. Also the two long porticoes leading to the Sebasteion of Aphrodisias had relief panels on both the second and third storeys—and it has been observed that the entire complex drew inspiration from the fora of Caesar and of Augustus.[8] However, and most important, we do not know the considerations, aesthetic or otherwise, of Augustus and his advisers: the status of the upper niches must remain an unresolved question. Thus each hemicycle was made to contain, not counting the larger Aeneas-group and Romulus with the *spolia opima* occupying the central positions, either two or four times seven niches in each hemicycle, with either twenty-eight or, perhaps somewhat less likely, fifty-six statues in all. To these may be added any statues positioned in the intercolumniations opposing the hemicycles. If all intercolumniations were occupied, their number must have amounted to about ten on each side, again arranged in one or two storeys, about twenty or, in the perhaps less likely case, forty in all. The two hemicycles whose existence has been recently discovered (above, ch. 4) were only slightly smaller than the formerly known ones so that it seems safe to assume that they differed from the first ones only in the absence of larger sculptural groups at their centre, corresponding to those in the first hemicycles. Whether they too were constructed of two storeys seems a question to which no answer is ever be likely to be found, and it would be otiose to weigh the possibilities, dependent as they are on plans and ideas about which we know nothing: from a purely aesthetic point of view a symmetrical arrangement again with two storeys would seem preferable. At any rate, even if of two storeys, it seems a safe bet that the upper storeys

[7] This would make the position of Tiberius there as well most likely.

[8] See Smith 1987, esp. 93. There is no evidence for the attractive suggestion made to me that the upper floors of the hemicycles were decorated with reliefs.

would not have contained statues if the upper storeys of the first pair of hemicycles did not. Thus we should assign to these exedrae one of the two possibilities, of either twenty-eight, or (as it seems perhaps less probable) again fifty-six, statues, again with room in the intercolumniations for only slightly less, by a statue or two on each side, than in the first hemicycles. Still, we may assume that there was room for statues in the porticoes as well. Nevertheless, it is only reasonable to assume that the positioning of the statues started from the Temple of Mars end of the Forum and proceeded from there so that no statues would be placed in the porticoes before the hemicycles were fully occupied. It would seem that the positions in the hemicycles, flanking Aeneas and Romulus, were the more prestigious, and it is very likely that they were reserved for the more prominent members of both the Iulii and the *summi viri*. Also the supposed derivation of these hemicycles from Hellenistic paradigms[9] suggests that it was the positioning of the statues that had to be arranged in the first place. With the discovery of the new hemicycles the entire visual balance as we perceive it has been changed (cf. e.g. above, figs. 1 and 5): while the two-hemicycle plan makes the long porticoes the dominant part of the Forum, the new plan emphasises the exedrae and gives the porticoes only the remaining, and as it were connecting (also with the end of the Forum), place. Nevertheless, even so the arrangement of the porticoes is far from unequivocal.

We cannot even try to guess how many statues were positioned in their locations at the time of the opening of the Forum to the public. Not only are we ignorant of the exact length of the porticoes in the only partially excavated Forum, we also do not know how many intercolumniations, both in the hemicycles and in the porticoes, were left free by Augustus for future occupants. Yet the hebdomadic arrangement suggested here may lead to the assumption that most, or perhaps all, hebdomads in the hemicycles had been filled by the time the Forum was opened to the public. It goes without saying that the provisions for future additions to the gallery of the *summi viri* must have had corresponding ones for the *gens Iulia* as well. In fact, considering his dynastic policy the Princeps may even have hoped that these future occupants of his Forum were more certainly to be counted on than the excellent future personages not connected with his family. There is of course no need to assume that anything approaching a perfect parity prevailed between the two

[9] See above, ch. 2.

sides, and that exactly (or even approximately) the same number of statues was positioned in both even in the initial stage under Augustus. It seems to me that estimating the number as anything more exact than that between something around one hundred to a figure in the neighbourhood of two hundred would be imprudent, but a hundred and fifty or so still seems to me the best guess.[10] The close to three score of small fragments of inscriptions published by G. Alföldy and L. Chioffi,[11] though prosopographically of little worth, seem to confirm that the lower figure at least is not exaggerated.

Starting with the Julian side we have seen that there is agreement on the presence of all the Alban kings so that one may conclude with certainty that these fourteen occupied the two hebdomads on their side.[12] From the consistent mention of the numerical order of the kings in the surviving inscriptions[13] it seems a fair guess that their arrangement was accordingly chronological. It is hardly necessary to stress here the didactic value of such an arrangement. As we know, history had been a subject one learned about hitherto only by way of other interests, so that chronological order and display must have seemed something utterly new to all but a chosen few of the spectators.[14] The possible presence of some Julian women, perhaps a hebdomad again, or even two, has been mentioned, including some guesses at their identities.[15] If the niches on the upper floor were indeed occupied, they may have

[10] The minimal count (without statues in the upper niches) would yield 4 + 2 for the flanks of the Temple + 4 × 14 in the hemicycles + *c.* 2 × 10 for the first and *c.* 2 × 9 for the intercolumniations of the second pair of hemicycles facing the semicircular hebdomads = 100, + some, say at least two dozen, more for the two rows between and following the hemicycles; the maximum count would add 4 × 14 for the upper niches = 156, + somewhat more than in the previous count for the remaining rows, perhaps three or four dozen, about two hundred all told. The suggested 'best guess' is of course only a compromise, sharing all the disadvantages of such measures.

[11] *CIL* VI.8.3 40964–41021, see below.

[12] If there were indeed statues on the upper level as well, one might perhaps speculate that these kings will have occupied the larger niches, made for somewhat taller than life-sized statues, on the ground floor. This seems to me more likely than the speculation of Degrassi, *InscrIt.* XIII.3 p. 5, who would put some kings, about whose deeds we know little, and thus would have only a *titulus* and no *elogium*, on the upper level. At any rate it seems to me self-evident that the fourteen Alban kings, just like the seven Roman ones, would be arranged in a coherent group.

[13] *CIL* VI.8.3 40931–6, and see below.

[14] In contrast, we are ignorant of the exact arrangement of the statues of the seven Roman kings on the Capitol, for which see Sehlmeyer 1999, 69–71, nor do we know whether the inscriptions of each of them displayed their place among their fellows.

[15] See above, ch. 4, and below for the possible *elogium* of Lavinia and another, perhaps Julian, lady, and also the archaeological evidence for a female statue.

seemed appropriate for the presumably somewhat smaller female statues, where probably the inscriptions had very little to offer beyond the names. Some further persons are safely attested by inscriptions, among them C. Julius Caesar the father of the Dictator.[16] Another very fragmentary inscription is restored as belonging to C. Iulius Iul(l)us, a member of the board of Decemviri;[17] no safe identification exists for fragments of an *elogium* of a L. Iulius,[18] though perhaps it is best to take him as the consul of 90 and censor of 89 BCE, and thus brother of the securely attested C. Iulius Caesar Strabo, *aed. cur.* 90:[19] though this man's *cursus* was cut short at an early stage, he played quite an important part in the momentous events of his time. His inclusion seems to me virtually to assure the inclusion of his more eminent brother, whether the inscription mentioned earlier belongs to him or not. A very fragmentary inscription from the *Forum Iulium*[20] belongs in great probability to the natural father of Augustus, and indeed, once the father of the Dictator was included, one feels that he, too, would not have been overlooked and would be honoured also in the Forum of his son. Two separate fragments in *InscrIt.* XIII.3 are joined by the editors of *CIL* VI.8.3 to yield, not without some hesitation, an inscription of Sex. Appuleius, the son of Octavia maior.[21] We may assume with some confidence that, if the inscription is indeed his, his place was among the Iulii rather than with the *summi viri*. Other recently deceased members of the family of the Princeps included his nephew, son-in-law and intended heir Marcellus,[22] famously lamented by Virgil (*Aen.* 6.868–886) and both of Livia's sons, Drusus who died only seven years before the opening of the Forum,[23] and, at first sight somewhat surprisingly, Tiberius in his life-time.[24] But, whatever considerations one may advance, who would question the right of the Princeps to erect the statue of his wife's son and his own former son-in-law in his Forum? In fact, such an action may have been a signal for the voluntary exile at Rhodes.

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[16] *CIL* VI.8.3 40954.

[17] *CIL* VI.8.3 40956.

[18] *CIL* VI.8.3 40929, and see discussion below.

[19] *CIL* VI.8.3 40955.

[20] *CIL* VI.8.3 40301.

[21] *CIL* VI.8.3 40940.

[22] *CIL* VI.8.3 40318, and see discussion below. His position as heir has been called in doubt by Brandt 1995.

[23] *CIL* VI.8.3 40330.

[24] *CIL* VI.8.3 40335, and see discussion above, ch. 4.

Another closely connected person who appears to have had his statue with those of the Julian *gens* was Augustus' closest ally and at the time of his death son-in-law M. Agrippa.[25] On the whole there is no reason why Augustus' choice in including persons among the Iulii should have been stricter than the customary procedure of carrying *imagines* in funerary processions, a policy including every possible candidate linked to the family by blood or marriage.[26] We should not be unduly worried by any possible discrepancy in eminence between the two sides of the Forum. Such a discrepancy would perhaps be apparent only to the eyes of the latter-day beholder: as for contemporaries, on the one hand one should not underestimate the power of 'canonisation' accorded by the very inclusion in the Forum, and on the other in all probability only the very few Romans possessed of real historical erudition could (but would they want to?) question the well-advisedness of any person's addition to the group, and of course only people with their own axes to grind would object to, or even notice, the exclusion of certain favourites. But, even if some people were stimulated by the list of Augustus to draw up their own, different, one, it is highly unlikely that they would publicise their disagreement with the authority of the Princeps.

We are somewhat better informed as to the list of the *summi viri*. Both from the epigraphical and the sculptural remains[27] it appears that indeed the great majority of these, though by no means all of them, were triumphators. While there is no need to doubt that the criterion for inclusion was being those who rendered the Republic great from its small beginnings, we cannot be sure exactly how this criterion was applied, that is, how much leeway Augustus (and his advisers?) allowed himself (themselves).

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[25] The editors of *CIL* VI.8.3 pp. 4851–2 are not convinced about his inclusion; see discussion below.

[26] One may compare with some profit the funeral of Augustus himself (Dio 56.34.1–3 with Swan 2004, 319–25), where they carried 'images of his ancestors and of his deceased relatives (except that of Caesar, because he had been numbered among the demigods) and those of other Romans who had been prominent in any way, beginning with Romulus himself. An image of Pompey the Great was also seen…', as well as the funeral of Drusus the Younger (Tac. *a.* 4.9.2): *Funus imaginum pompa maxime inlustre fuit, cum origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas omnesque Albanorum reges et conditor urbis Romulus, post Sabina nobilitas, Attus Clausus ceteraeque Claudiorum effigies longo ordine spectarentur.*

[27] The great majority of the fragmented statuary belonged to *togati*, though owing to the disappearance of the colours painted on the statues there is no telling how many of them actually donned the triumphal toga, see La Rocca 1995, II 82. Of course we cannot know which of the unidentified fragments of statues belong to Iulii and which to the *summi viri*.

To go back to Varro's influence on the arrangement of the Forum, it was seen as advisable to assume an only partially hebdomadic arrangement. The safe or likely hebdomads on the side of the Iulii have been discussed above. As for the side of the *summi viri*, one cannot even guess at hebdomads except for that of the kings of Rome, presently to be examined. On the other hand, arranging statues in the exedrae would display them, whether this was the original intention or not, as groups of seven or fourteen. As for the names of those included, the works of Nepos and Atticus could certainly not supply all of them, nor again can we assume that all of those included in their lists would also receive their due place with Augustus. Thus Fasti and other lists would be consulted and advice would be taken from scholars and other erudite persons—how and to what extent must remain anybody's guess. And of course fierce lobbying for aggrandisement of some aristocratic families (and consequently belittlement of others?) must have gone on behind the scenes once Augustus' plans became known.

One feels intuitively that a position in one of the exedrae must have been more prestigious as against one in the porticoes[28]—and probably so were positions in the hemicycles as against those in the opposing intercolumniations, not to mention the lower, bigger, statues as against the upper, smaller, ones, if such indeed existed—but the very few hints we do have as to the location of some of the statues hardly bear this out. Also the existence of the newly discovered hemicycles automatically decreases the number of statues in the porticoes, thus altering the numerical balance and perhaps the relative prestige of the various positions. However, we do have some information about certain locations, so it might be best to start with these.

First, I believe there is one statue whose exact location, though hitherto incorrectly interpreted, can be defined with certainty. The statue of a Gracchus was known to be in the Forum from an inscription,[29] and it is universally identified as that of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus cos. 177, 163, father of the tribunes. There now exists evidence to identify its exact location. A wax tablet written on 31 January 40 CE, from the archive of the Sulpicii from Murecine, a suburb of Pompeii, specifies as the venue for a transaction [*Rom*]*ae in foro Augusto* | [*ante*]

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[28] But there is absolutely no foundation to the tentative proposal of Hickson 1991, 134 n. 42 to interpret Suetonius as if the hemicycles were reserved for the triumphators and the porticoes for the rest.

[29] *CIL* VI.8.3 40960 = *InscrIt.* XIII.3 25.

statuam Gracci | [*ad colum*]*nam* | *quar-* | [*tam prox*]*ume gradus*.[30] This is much more precisely defined than another location in the same source, presently to be discussed, indicated by the name of the statue alone.[31] It remains unclear whether this exactitude is due to the fact that there was more than one statue dedicated to various Gracchi, or to another circumstance. (It would be intriguing to learn about Augustus' interpretation of Roman history and to know whether the two tribunes, though hardly fitting the definition of enlarging the *imperium* of the Roman people,[32] were included.) Camodeca thinks that the statue must have stood in an intercolumniation of the portico, rather than in a niche corresponding to the fourth column of the portico, and that the stairs in question are those of the Temple of Mars Ultor, where the altar was situated. On the contrary, I believe that on this latter issue his argument should be stood on its head. The fact that another tablet (no. 15) specifies *ante aram Martis Ultoris proxume gradus* seems to indicate that the stairs referred to in the wax tablet mentioning Gracchus belonged to a different set. To me it seems, contrary to Camodeca's opinion, that in the description of the place of the statue of Gracchus the much more modest stairs leading from the Subura end rather than the main stairs in front of the Temple are referred to—this is where ordinary people, at least those coming from Subura, who would never mount the stairs to the Temple, would enter the Forum. Thus they would be referred to simply as 'the stairs', as opposed to the monumental stairs of the Temple, and here there were, on this side of the exedra, places for exactly four statues: here, I believe, Gracchus must have occupied the last, solitary, place before the exedra (fig. 7). Contrarily the stairs mentioned in connexion with the altar are clearly defined by their location and would be understood accordingly. Moreover, as shall be seen presently, the other exact location we find in these documents refers to a statue that was in all probability the last in the row. It is only reasonable to assume that the statue of Gracchus was immediately by the stairs on entering the Forum rather than in some place along the row in the intercolumniations where one had to seek it out—after all

[30] The argument discussed in the text above is Camodeca 1986, 505–8, the definitive publication of the tablets id. 1999, no. 19, p. 72.

[31] Ibid. no. 13, p. 66: *in foro Augusto ante statuam* | *Cn*(*aei*) *Senti Saturnini triumpha* | [*l*]*em*; nos. 14, 27, and see discussion below.

[32] For Tiberius some claim may have been made on behalf of his *rogatio Sempronia de pecunia regis Attali*.

Fig. 7. Columns of the Temple of Mars Ultor with the stairs leading from Subura into the Forum. Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome.

people chose these locations for convenience and not for historical or sentimental reasons. For a person coming from Subura and entering the Forum by the stairs this statue was most easy to find and identify, provided he could read (a fact virtually assured for the parties in the transaction). The fact that another place of assignation mentioned in the tablets, that of the statue of Sentius Saturninus, was the last in the row (see below) also supports the common sense assumption of easily identifiable venues.

Unfortunately, even this single exact location of the statue of Gracchus does not bring us any closer to understanding the principles of arrangement, though this may perhaps arise with more discoveries of this kind. At any rate, whatever the truth of the hebdomadic classification, this Gracchus—and the other three statues that shared the location next to the entrance from Subura, as well as the two corresponding statues on the opposite side—could not have been a part of it. Moreover, if the four statues before the first hemicycle enjoyed a privileged position, one does not see why (this) Gracchus should have been so honoured. On the contrary, one might surmise that these six positions were the least privileged ones, lost, as it were, behind the imposing exedrae.

The south-eastern exedra appears to have contained the statues of the seven kings of Rome, thus adding a regular statue of Romulus to the large one in the central niche with the *spolia opima*. This is of course in full agreement with the fact that on the other, Julian, side there was a regular statue of Aeneas in addition to the sculptural group with Anchises and Ascanius. However, an inquiry into these statues will provide some further evidence as to the exact list of the statues and incidentally allow us some insight into the decision-making process of Augustus or his advisers.

As is well known, the seven kings of Rome had their statues, together with that of Brutus, on the Capitol from some early date on.[33] Which seven kings? To repeat: evidently in such numerological schemes and speculations it is the magic number (very often seven) that weighs more decisively than the exact list of those belonging in it. The Seven Sages or the Seven Hills of Rome are undisputed entities even though different versions of the rolls exist.[34] Now it appears that the statues of the seven

[33] See discussion in Sehlmeyer 1999, 68–71.
[34] Cf. Salis 1947.

kings on the Capitol included Titus Tatius, but not Tarquinius Superbus: the Elder Pliny expressly attests to the statue of Titus Tatius,[35] while in discussing the rings worn on the fingers of the statues he speaks of one Tarquinius only,[36] obviously Priscus. It is indeed only to be expected that a group that also included Brutus was so arranged that the king expelled by him should not be represented.[37] Did Augustus follow this scheme? Manilius in his roll-call of the heroes in the Milky Way includes the kings of Rome with a reservation: *Tarquinioque minus reges*.[38] I shall discuss the relevance of Manilius for the Forum of Augustus in a later chapter (ch. 7), but shall in the meantime tentatively assume that in fact the poet reflects here the realities of the Forum of Augustus and that indeed Augustus took over the time-honoured arrangement from the Capitol and included among the seven Roman kings in his Forum Titus Tatius, but not Tarquinius Superbus. Whether this reflected an ideological decision or he was only more or less thoughtlessly following a tradition that had established itself with the statues on the Capitol remains concealed from us, though quite conceivably the son and heir of the Dictator Caesar would hardly have wished to remind people of the last king of Rome and his fate. And incidentally, could we possibly assume that together with the seven kings that son and heir also erected a statue of the first Brutus in imitation of the assemblage on the Capitol? After all, the provocative graffiti on Brutus' statue on the Capitol before the assassination of the Dictator[39] may well have been remembered. We have no direct evidence concerning the chronological and numerical arrangement of the kings. On the one hand the evidence for the Alban kings would point to an analogous layout, but on the other we do not know what the arrangement on the Capitol was and to what extent it was taken over in the Forum. Also, considering the absence of Tarquinius Superbus and his replacement by Titus Tatius, one cannot be absolutely certain whether the statues would be given numerical tags.

We have no clue as to what other hebdomads, if any, stood in the same exedra, or indeed anywhere on that side of the Forum. In fact the

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[35] Plin. *nh* 34.23.

[36] Plin. *nh* 33.9–10.

[37] See, rather surprisingly, Pollitt 1983, 12: 'Which king was missing is not known.'

[38] Manil. 1.778; Sehlmeyer 1999, 68–71 in his discussion fails to take account of this passage.

[39] Plut. *Brut.* 9.6, App. *bc* 2.112.

one statue we may assume to have been situated in the first hemicycle makes our guesses only more difficult: it was a part of the base of Sulla's statue that has been found here, and we have no reason to assume that it was not *in situ*.[40] This, at least, seems to be at odds with any notion that the entire Gallery would have been arranged in a chronological order, as a matter of course starting from the Temple of Mars end, and thus we need not assume that the statue of Gracchus discussed above was displaced from such an assumed chronological sequence. But one should keep in mind that one of the central messages of Augustus' Hall of Fame was that now all the divisions of the Republic were over and the entire state was one great happy family with the *Pater Patriae* at its head:[41] consequently it appears that even Pompey, the great adversary of the Divine Julius, got his due place[42]—surely his *imago* in the funeral of Augustus[43] would suggest that the Princeps had not banned him from his Forum.[44] It would be a pleasant thought to assume that Marius, whose statue is attested,[45] stood close to Sulla, perhaps among some arrangement of Rome's (seven? fourteen?) greatest generals, in the same exedra with the seven kings.[46] But, as stated above, even if this was not the original intention, the statues would form hebdomads in the eye of the beholder, provoking his own interpretation of the arrangement. ('These men assembled with Marius and Sulla for sure must also be among the very greatest generals of the Republic.')

The tricky question as to whether we should assume women's statues (a hebdomad? two?) also alongside the *summi viri* has been dealt with in the previous chapter. We saw the evidence for honorary statues for women in Rome under the Republic as well as the circumstantial evidence of the hebdomad of women in Silius Italicus' quasi-Virgilian *Heldenschau*. In my opinion this weighs much more heavily than Suetonius' reference to *duces*,[47] which may not necessarily have been accurate as an exclusive term and may have been used loosely like his

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40 *CIL* VI.8.3 40951. Though it is not impossible that this was not its original place it would be methodically questionable to assume this.

41 See in general Severy 2003.

42 Frisch 1980, and see below.

43 Dio 56.34.1–3.

44 Nor was he barred under the later Julio-Claudians, as one can learn from his portrayal by Lucan.

45 *CIL* VI.8.3 40957, and see below.

46 For the location of the bronze statues under the Empire see the next chapter.

47 Suet. *Aug.* 31.5.

reference to triumphators. In fact, even in the above mentioned passage of Silius' Underworld the poet speaks loosely of 'men' (*virum*) despite his inclusion of women.[48]

The following is a list of the persons known to have been represented by statues in the galleries of the Forum of Augustus.

I *The side of the ancestors of the Julian House (north-west)*

1–14 *The Alban kings*

In the following discussion I shall not enter into the detailed, and often very complex, arguments of the restoration of the diverse fragmentary inscriptions and the identifications of the various kings.[49] After Spannagel's very thorough and exacting discussion the latest comprehensive review is that by the *CIL* VI.8.3 editors Alföldy and Chioffi. My emphasis is rather on Augustus' decision to include the Alban kings, in all probability following Varro's numerical scheme, and not the specific antiquarian decisions made concerning the exact composition of the list. Two points, however, demand clarification in view of Spannagel's arguments. The one central to my presentation is the number fourteen of the Alban kings, and connected with this the fact that we are indeed dealing with Alban kings, and not with Latin kings including those prior to Aeneas. The other, no less important, fact is the arrangement of the Alban kings on the Julian side of the Forum, opposite the seven kings of Rome, arrayed with Romulus and the *summi viri*.[50]

To repeat: the most important, nay clinching, argument for the hebdomadic arrangement of the heroes in the Forum of Augustus is the number of niches on either side of the central sculptural group, and their safely assumed repetition, without the central groups, in the recently discovered hemicycle and its certain opposite pair (see above, ch. 4). In view of Varro's work the ascription of this number to coincidence would amount to sheer obstructionism—one cannot imagine that the number of niches in the hemicycles was not a major component of

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[48] See Sil. 13.395–6.

[49] For this see Spannagel 1999, 267–87.

[50] Sauron 1981, 297–9 puts Silvial and Julian descendants on both sides of Aeneas, rejected by Spannagel 1999, 279, who however, not noticing the hebdomadic arrangement, has his own speculative schemes; see also Spannagel 1999, 281–2 for his mistaken notions about the positions of Romulus and Aeneas and his belief that the kings of Rome were not included in the Augustan array.

the plan and would be left to chance decisions. The smooth fitting in of the seven kings of Rome (which, however, did require some choice), and the almost equally smooth inclusion of the fourteen Alban kings, enhance the argument while circumstantial support may be detected in other possible influences of the Varronian scheme.[51]

It is remarkable how uniform the half dozen more or less safely identified inscriptions of the Alban kings are, all exhibiting name, numeration among kings, descent, and years[52] and place of reign. These then correspond to the *tituli*, rather than to the *elogia* properly so called containing *res gestae*, inscribed below the statue bases of the *summi viri*. It is best to follow Degrassi (*InscrIt.* XIII.3 pp. 5–6) and the editors of *CIL* VI.8.3 (p. 4848) in assuming that in the case of the Alban kings, at least, no second inscription was produced. This, then, seems a likely conjecture for the kings of Rome as well, though I am not sure whether to follow Degrassi in denying *elogia* (properly so called) also to the entire Julian side of the Forum.[53] One might speculate about Augustus' reasons for this: one could say that the great deeds of the great men of the Republic were exhibited as examples to be followed, while of course in the case of kings, or Iulii, it sufficed to belong to the group. As for the *elogium* of the Julian woman discussed below, obviously in cases where nothing resembling a *cursus honorum* existed whatever was remarkable about the woman may have been inscribed on the statue base.

Aeneas. *Aen*[*e*]*ạ*[*s primus*] | *Latin*[*orum rex*] |*regnav*[*it*] *annos III*] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40931). Both editors agree with Spannagel that this inscription belonged to a statue different from the centrally situated group with Anchises (and, as we know from the archaeological evidence, Ascanius/Iulus), to which Ov. *f.* 5.563 refers.[54]

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[51] Geiger 1998. I doubt whether adducing Greek precedents, among them the Argive offerings in Delphi, as does Spannagel 1999, 283–4, is conducive to the understanding of Augustus' choice of heroes; however, once mentioned, it may be remembered that the Argives erected at Delphi statues of the Seven against Thebes and of the Seven Epigonoi: Paus. 10.10.2.

[52] Of course, the number of years ascribed to each king should not be connected with the schematic computation of the entire period of the Alban kings, for which see above, ch. 4 n. 175.

[53] The only notice in our extant sample that goes beyond the *cursus honorum* belongs to the father of Iulius Caesar, who also [*c*]*olonos Cerce*[*inam? duxit*] (see discussion below). This may perhaps be taken as an exceptional addition to the rather unimpressive *cursus honorum*. On the other hand, if such persons as Agrippa were included among the Iulii (see below), it is difficult to imagine that they would not receive their proper—in this case certainly very comprehensive—*elogium*.

[54] Cf. discussion above, ch. 4.

Aeneas Silvius. [*Quart*(*us*) *Aeneas*] *Sil*[*vius*] | [*Silvii*] *f* (*ilius*) | [*Aeneae ne*]*po*[*s*] | [*regnavit Albae a*]*nn*(*os*) *XXXI* (*CIL* VI.8.3 40932); see also Spannagel 1999, 269–74, Tafel 20.2; *InscrIt.* XIII.3 no. 2; there is general agreement about the identification, though different filiations have been proposed.

Alba Silvius. [*Se*]*xtus* [*Al*]*ba* [*Silvius*] | [*Latini Sil*]*vii f* (*ilius*) | [*regnavi*]*t Albae ann*(*os*) [*XXXIX*] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40933). Chioffi joined together three fragments; Degrassi in *InscrIt.* XIII.3, 31,4, had joined only a + b and was followed by Sehlmeyer 1999, 265; see also Spannagel 1999, 278, who also joins only two of the fragments and assigns the third to a different inscription. Though his restoration is different, his identification is not.

Calpetus Silvius. [*Cal*]*pe*[*tus Silvius*] | [*Ca*]*py*[*is Silvii f* (*ilius*)] | [*Albae regnavit ann*(*os*) *XIII*] | [*nonus Latinorum rex*] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40934). First edited by L. Chioffi; see also Spannagel 1999, 277 n. 133 and his Tafel 21.2.

Proca. [*Pr*]*oca* [*Silvius*] | [*Aventini Silvii f* (*ilius*)] | [*Albae regnavit ann*(*os*) *XXIII*] | [*quartus decimus rex*] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40935, following a somewhat different restoration by Degrassi). Father of the antagonistic brothers Numitor and Amulius, he is considered to be the last king of Alba, since Numitor assumed the throne *post urbem conditam*.[55] It is a point of some interest that the *CIL* VI.8.3 editors were aware of the number of Alban kings though they did not find it necessary to discuss this fact.

Capys Silvius. [*Capys Silvius*] | [*Calpeti Silvii f* (*ilius*)] | *r*[*egnavit Albae ann*(*os*)] *XXV*[*III octavus rex*] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40936). Needless to say, a very iffy restoration, and accordingly brought here out of sequence; what was read as the numeral by the editors was read by Spannagel 1999, 295–7 as *XXV*[*IR* and taken as a reference to the *vigintivir* M. Atius Balbus, Augustus' maternal grandfather.

15–21 *or* 28

There seems to be sufficient evidence for the presence of women, at least on the Julian side. Considering the hebdomadic arrangement of the Gallery as well as the presumption that these statues would not be randomly sprinkled among the male ones, one may surmise at least one hebdomad

[55] See *Enc. Virg.* IV 287 (G. Brugnoli).

of Julian women; two hebdomads would not be an unreasonable estimate. To the evidence presented here the circumstantial evidence of imitation from Spain (see below, ch. 7) may be added.

Julian woman? [—*statuam*—] | —] *post mortem ponendam cen*[*suit*] | [*sepe*]*lirique eam in campo Martio iu*[*ssit*] (*CIL* VI.8.3 41025). Discovered only in 1971 in the cupola of the Pantheon, the *CIL* VI.8.3 editors refuse, in the first place because of the form of the stone, to assign it to the *Forum Augustum*, though the letters fit well into Augustan times. That the woman was of very high standing is understood from the text of the inscription, and indeed the proposal of L. Cozza (1983), the first editor, to identify her with Julia, Julius Caesar's only daughter and the wife of Pompey, has much to be said for it. If women were included in the *Forum Augustum*, Julia would be a prime candidate; a repetition of her funerary inscription from the Campus Martius (whence the stone in the Pantheon) can easily be envisaged.[56]

Lavinia? *La*[...] [...] *A*[...]...? (*CIL* VI.8.3 40930). The inscription was found, like those of Augustus' father and a member of the Julian *gens* (see below), in the *Forum Iulium*. Whether we should postulate a row of statues with *elogia* here too, or whether the stones were carried here from the adjacent *Forum Augustum*, is difficult to know, though to my mind the first of these possibilities entails the unwelcome addition of an unknown factor. Unfortunately, we may of course equally well restore 'Latinus'. Her attestation on a statue base in Lavinium argues for Lavinia.[57] This short inscription from Imperial times [*Lavinia Latini filia*] differs from the Forum *elogia*, but the choice of the honorand, a local girl indeed, may well imitate the Roman precedent.

If Lavinia was honoured in the Forum, she may well have been included either on the Julian side or with the *summi viri*, depending on the version of the myth adopted.[58] Though there are no unequivocal indications for non-Julian women in the Forum, it has been suggested (above, ch. 4) that if they were included she may have led the hebdo-

[56] See Spannagel 1999, 320 n. 408 for other proposals, including Alia, for whose burial in the Campus Martius see Suet. *Aug.* 61.2; Chioffi thinks of an Augustan family member buried in the Mausoleum.

[57] *CIL* I^2 p. 189 n. II = XIV 2067 = *ILS* 62 = *InscrIt.* XIII.3 87, see Premerstein in *RE* V.2 (1905) 2446; Bömer, *Fasti*^{2} 325.

[58] See *Enc. Virg.* s.v. (W.K. Lacey).

mad of women paraded by Silius Italicus. Of course, it is also possible that she was joined in a double (?) hebdomad with some mythological figures of similar stature (e.g. Rhea Silvia; Acca Larentia?) who would act as counterparts to the Alban kings.

Fragments of female statue. The fragments of at least one female statue, though its exact site is not now to be ascertained, add strong support to the fragments of inscriptions.[59]

The following further eight statues are also attested on the Julian side:

22–29 *or* **29–36**

C. Iulius Caesar Strabo *aed. cur.* 90. [*C*(*aius*) *Iuliu*]*s L*(*uci*) *f*(*ilius*) [*Caesar*] | [*S*]*trab*[*o*] | [*aed*(*ilis*) *cur*(*ulis*) *q*(*uaestor*) *tr*(*ibunus*) *mil*(*itum*) [*bis Xvir*] | [*agr*(*is*) *dand*(*is*)] *adtr*(*ibuendis*) *iu*[*d*(*icandis*) *pontif*(*ex*)] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40955 = 1310, cf. 31596 p. 3799; I p. 278 no. IV = I² p. 198 no. X). The fragment was found in the north-western hemicycle. It has been argued above that if *in situ* it might be considered an argument for statues in the upper-storey niches—the lower storey was fully occupied by the fourteen Alban kings. A good example of the inclusion even of persons who attained only quite mediocre careers among the Iulii.

C. Iulius Caesar, Father of the Dictator. [*C*(*aius*) *Iu*]*lius* [*C*(*ai*) *f*(*ilius*) *Caesar*] | *pater Di*[*vi Iulii*] | [*p*]*r*(*aetor*) *q*(*uaestor*) *tr*(*ibunus* [*mil*(*itum*)] | [*c*]*olonos Cerce*[*inam? duxit*] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40954, slightly differently *InscrIt.* XIII.3. 7). For his career see also *MRR* III (Additions and Corrections), 104–5; see Spannagel 1999, 288 with discussion in n. 195. Found in front of the fourth *aedicula* from right, viz. in the middle one of a hebdomad, of the north-western hemicycle, and thus perhaps again evidence for an upper row of statues. Though the restoration of the inscription is difficult, there exists no doubt about the identity of the person. The express description as *pater di*[*vi Iulii*] is a very good account of his chief claim to fame.

C. Iulius Iulus. [*C*(*aius*) *Iulius C*(*ai*) *f*(*ilius*) *Iulu*]*s co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *b*[*is*] | [*Xvir consulari i*]*mperio* | [*legibus scribundis*] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40956). The editors

[59] La Rocca 1995, II 81–2.

identify him with the consul of 489, *RE* no. 293; Spannagel 1999, 293 maintains that the same person, eventually a member of the board of Decemviri who composed the Twelve Tables, was consul both in 489 and 482, *RE* nos. 293, 294. Be this as it may, the roll-call of the Iulii was all-inclusive and went as far back as history (as perceived by the Romans) allowed.

Augustus' father. [*C*(*aius*) *Octavius*] | *C*(*ai*) *f* (*ilius*) | [*pater Augu*]*sti* (*CIL* VI.8.2 40301). This inscription in the *Forum Iulium* had its equivalent no doubt in the *Forum Augustum*, and cf. also discussion in *CIL* VI.8.3 p. 4846. Alföldy rejects the restorations *M. Marcellus C. f. gener Augusti* or *Octavia C. f. soror Augusti*. The first among these personages is attested in another inscription (see below), the latter may well have been included among the Julian women.

L(ucius) Iu[lius...] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40929). This inscription, too, seems to come from the *Forum Iulium* and had its equivalent in the *Forum Augustum*, but provenance from the *Forum Augustum* itself is not impossible. The list in *MRR* II 574–5 contains seventeen names that could fit, and speculation here is out of order.

Marcellus, Augustus' son-in-law and intended heir. [*M*(*arcus*) *Claud*]*ịus C*(*ai*) *f* (*ilius*) | [*Marc*]*ellu*[*s*] | [*aed*(*ilis*) *cur*(*ulis*)], *pont*[*if* (*ex*)] (*CIL* VI.8.2 40318). Alföldy follows the restoration of Degrassi (*InscrIt.* XIII.3 8) and accepts the position among the Iulii: the *miserandus puer* of the *Heldenschau* (Verg. *Aen.* 6.882) obviously merits a place solely because of his family connexions—and the lost hopes. Brandt 1995, whose attitude to Marcellus' position as heir apparent to Augustus is rather revisionist, discusses at the end of his paper Marcellus' possible portraits; these would then also provide the type for the Forum.

Augustus composed a funeral oration for Marcellus[60] and would thus probably not leave it to another person to compose his *elogium*, if any.[61]

Tiberius. [*Ti*(*berius*) *Claudius Ti*(*beri*) *f* (*ilius*) *T*]*i*(*beri*) *n*(*epos*) *N*[*ero*] | [*privignus Augus*]*ṭ*(*i*) *Diṿ*[*i f* (*ilii*)] | [*pontifex, co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *II, imp*(*erator*) *II*]

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[60] Serv. *ad Aen* 1.712; Dio 53.30.5; cf. Plut. *Marc.* 30.5; 31.7 (= *comp. Pel. Marc.* 1.7).

[61] The question of *elogia* to the Iulii has been referred to above; what could such an *elogium* for this youth contain is another question.

(*CIL* VI.8.2 40335). Despite the heavy restoration the stone seems to fit exactly those of the *Forum Augustum*. Alföldy does not explain his assertion 'titulus certe a. 2 a. C. n. spectat, cum forum Augustum consecratum est', and he does not even refer to the fact that in that case this was the only dedication in the subject's lifetime known to us at the time of the opening of the Forum. Moreover, in 2 BCE Tiberius was at Rhodes: if the statue was indeed among those exhibited at the opening of the Forum this may contribute to clarifying his ambiguous position during the Rhodian 'exile': perhaps it was less of a contradiction than it seems and even an inducement to Tiberius to return to the fold. A variety of explanations could be found to harmonise this with Augustus' refusal the next year to allow him to return from Rhodes.[62] Alternatively, nothing of course stands in the way of considering the possibility that the statue was added following Tiberius' adoption in 4 CE but still under Augustus. Be this as it may, Alföldy was in all probability right about the dedication of the statue in Tiberius' lifetime, and this case may have set the precedent for the later quite regular dedications of this sort (for which see below, ch. 6). In this context one may note that such dedications are attested from the time of Claudius onwards; the two known cases of statues added under Tiberius followed the death of the subject (see below, ch. 6). Could it be that Tiberius did not care to share the exclusiveness of his position with others, and this was only changed under Claudius? (No dedications are known to us from the time of Caligula—perhaps not just owing to the short reign and the chances of survival.) Be this as it may, one will have to take recourse to the *Zeitgeist* that allowed Augustus the inclusion of a living person in his Gallery while our first attested biography of a person still alive—Nepos' *Atticus*—has been published in his own lifetime (see above, ch. 4).

Drusus, the brother of Tiberius. [*Nero*] *Cl*[*a*]*ụdiu*[*s*] *Ti*(*beri*) *f*(*ilius*) | [*Dru*]*sus German*[*i*]*c̣us* | [*co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*)] *pr*(*aetor*) *urb*(*anus*), *q*(*uaestor*), *aug*(*ur*), *imp*(*erator*) | [*app*]*ellaṭus ịn Germania*. (*CIL* VI.8.2 40330; Degrassi in *InscrIt.* XIII.3 9 restores at the end [extinct]us in Germania.)[63] This statue and

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[62] See above, ch. 4 with n. 135.

[63] See also Tac. *a.* 4.9.2 on the funeral of the Younger Drusus, quoted above, n. 26. Amazingly, Kuttner 1995 with her main emphasis on the position of Drusus and Tiberius and the honours paid to them by Augustus in the years immediately before and after the untimely demise of the former, fails to mention the inclusion of their statues among the Julii in the gallery of the *Forum Augustum*. On the question of

inscription were also in the north-western exedra of the Julii, thus if *in situ* either from the (uncertain) upper row or from an intercolumniation; Drusus died in 9 BCE, so that there could be no question concerning his inclusion. Could this fact play a role in the decision to include a statue of his elder brother already in 2 BCE, if indeed such was the case? We are told by a source reliable in such matters[64] that Augustus composed both the verse inscription on Drusus' tomb and a prose *vita*: this should suffice for asserting his authorship also of the *elogium*.

Two further persons whose presence is very likely are perhaps better numbered among the Iulii than on the side of the *summi viri*, and not just for reasons of arithmetical balance:

Sex. Appuleius, the son of Octavia maior. [*Sex*(*tus*) *Appulei*]*us Sex*(*ti*) *f* (*ilius*) *a*[*ug*(*ur*)?] | [*imp*(*erator*), *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*), *proco*(*n*)*s*(*ul*)] | [*triumpha*]*vit ex Hị*[*spania*] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40940, two not adjoining fragments, and see there for the career of the man and the different proposals of the two editors, with bibliography). The editors acknowledge his family connexion (p. 4851) so it is not entirely clear to me why they place him among the *summi viri*. There is of course no certainty to be had, but considering Augustus' attitude to his extended family it seems to me that the statue's more appropriate place was here.

M. Agrippa. Strangely, Alföldy and Chioffi are not sure (*CIL* VI.8.3 pp. 4851–2) whether he was included among the honorands of the Forum: as circumstantial evidence they adduce *CIL* III 6101, an *elogium* from Athens, where however the honorand's name is lost. Whether a statue of Agrippa from Augusta Emerita was a copy of that in the *Forum Augustum* or referred to a different person is not clear.[65] The dress of the statue seems to speak against it as one would expect Agrippa to appear in military attire, perhaps with his naval crown.[66] Also his appearance among the heroes of Manilius (1.798) should be taken as a positive indicator (see below, ch. 7). However, even without evidence of any sort, is it conceivable that Augustus' comrade and closest associate

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cognates and agnates in the procession cf. the very pertinent remarks of Flaig 1995, 140–6; Blösel 2003, 57.

[64] Suet. *Claud.* 1.5.

[65] See Panzram 2002, 248–9, and cf. below.

[66] For Agrippa with the naval crown see Fantham 2006, 152 n. 8.

was not included, even if we disregard the fact that he was the father of the two heirs and adopted sons of Augustus, whose coming of age was so intimately connected with the opening of the Forum? That Augustus would not deny the place of the boys' natural father in the family arrangement is shown by his inclusion of his own father. Even if there existed evidence for Augustus' jealousy of Agrippa—and none such is known to me—a decade after his decease it would have been politically apposite to honour him (not to mention the fact that we do not possess cogent reasons for believing that Augustus was entirely devoid of simple human feelings of friendship and gratitude). Also here, the fact that Augustus composed a funeral oration for Agrippa[67] should weigh heavily in favour of assigning to him the composition of the *elogium* as well.

These thirty to forty or so statues, of course only a part of the total, give us some idea of the range of Roman history represented by the Iulii and their various connexions, from Aeneas through the Alban kings down to Augustus' partner Agrippa and his intended heir Marcellus as well as his eventual heir Tiberius.

II *On the side of the* summi viri *(south-east)*

1–7 *The seven kings of Rome*

Both Ovid[68] and Tacitus[69] describing the funeral of the Younger Drusus mention explicitly Romulus only—and in fact he is the only king for whom parts of an inscription are extant. Nevertheless, not only the presence of seven kings, but also the exact composition of the list, viz. including Titus Tatius, and excluding Tarquinius Superbus, has been argued above.

Romulus. *Ro*[*mulus rex*] | *Ṃ*[*artis filius*] | *uṛ*[*bem Romam condidit*] | [*regnavit ann*(*os*) *XXXVIII*] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40937). Admittedly a far from safe restoration. Degrassi[70] proposed *Ro*[*mulo* | *M*[*artis f*(*ilio*) | *ur*[*bis conditori*] and thought that it belonged to a monument different from that bearing the *elogium* (of course, only so can one restore the name in the dative

[67] Dio 54.28.3; Koenen 1970; Gronewald 1983.
[68] Ov. *f.* 5.563–4.
[69] Tac. *a.* 4.9.2, quoted above, n. 26.
[70] Degrassi 1939, 10–12 (= 1962a, 217–19).

rather than in the nominative). Chioffi considers it the inscription under the central sculpture with the *spolia opima*. Whether the inscriptions of the Roman kings bore the regnal years as the Alban kings did we do not know; however, given the inclusion of Titus Tatius and the absence of Tarquinius Superbus from the list, it would be perhaps convenient to avoid these dates and the successive numbering. To this inscription Alföldy would add hesitantly *CIL* VI.8.3 40938 — | [—] + *ỊÇ* + [—] | [—*C*]*rust*[*umer*—] | [—*C*]*aenịṇ* [—]: Crustumerium and Caenina prepared for war after the Rape of the Sabine Women and Romulus triumphed over the Caeninses, whose king Acro he slayed to win the *spolia opima*. Did the statue among the seven kings, like the one in the central niche, also exhibit these famous spoils?[71] Of course, here we are mainly concerned with the very presence of Romulus and the other kings in the Gallery.

It has been proposed[72] that the round monument relating to a triumph with *spolia opima* with the inscription *Latiṇ*[*or*]*um exerçitum* [—] | *cae*[*sis m*]*ultị*[*s milit*]*ịḅụ*[*s*—] | *Supe*[*rbi f*]*ịlịis et gen*[*tilibus*—] | *omn*[—*p*]*eṛṛum*[*p*—] | *spem* [—] | *Aed*[*em Castoris*—] | *ex ṣ*[*poliis hostium vovit*] belongs to Romulus.

8–32

The following twenty-five persons are attested with various degrees of certainty:

A. Postumius Albus Regillensis dict. 499 or 496, cos. 496. *Laṭịṇ*[*or*]*um exercịtum* [—] | *cae*[*sis m*]*ultị*[*s milit*]*ịḅụ*[*s*—] | *Supe*[*rbi f*]*ịlịis et gen*[*tilibus*—] | *omn*[—*p*]*eṛṛum*[*p*—] | *spem* [—] | *Aed*[*em Castoris*—] | *ex ṣ*[*poliis hostium vovit*] (*CIL* VI.8.3. 40959 = 31623 =I^2 p. 197 no. XXII 3 = *InscrIt.* XIII.3 10). The victory at Lake Regillus was not only a sufficient but no doubt an incontestable reason for inclusion.

M'. Valerius Maximus dict. 494. *M'. Valerius Volusi f. Maximus, dictator, augur. Prius quam ullum magistratum gereret, dictator dictus est. Triumphavit de Sabinis et Medullinis. Plebem de sacro monte deduxit, gratiam cum patribus reconciliavit. Faenore gravi populum senatus hoc eius rei auctore liberavit. Sellae*

[71] Note that in Virgil's *Heldenschau* (Verg. *Aen.* 6.855) Marcellus is recognizable by the *spolia opima*.

[72] Schneider 1990.

curulis locus ipsi posterisque ad Murciae spectandi caussa datus est. Princeps in senatum semel lectus est. (*CIL* VI.8.3 40920 = *InscrIt.* XIII.3 60, 78); the fragmentary no. 60 is one of six 'elogia aedificii cuiusdam fori Romani', no. 78 the entire inscription from Arezzo; the original must have been divided in two, the *cursus* and part of the *res gestae* on the statue base, the rest of the *res gestae* on a separate *tabula*.

Apart from the patently predictable mentions of his military and political achievements, two recurrent motifs in the *elogia* make their first appearance here: first, the special honour awarded him and his descendants, and, second, his appointment to the position of *princeps senatus*. The first should of course be seen against the background of the many unprecedented honours accorded to Augustus himself. It may well have been the intention of the Princeps to show that the very fact of bestowing unprecedented honours was not unprecedented. The second may be somewhat trickier.

Given the overall brevity of the *elogia*, the place given to the elevation of Valerius Maximus, together with references to Fabius Maximus being selected twice, on the one hand, and the apparent omission of the fact that Aemilius Lepidus was selected six times to this position (see below), on the other, must be seen in the context of Augustus' own emphasis on his being *princeps senatus* for forty years when writing—or rather, last revising—his *Res Gestae* in 13 CE.[73] Moreover, Valerius Maximus as *princeps senatus* is not attested elsewhere, the position itself is highly dubious for this early period and may well be an invention of Valerius Antias.[74] Yet the reference to the antiquity of the institution may have been very much in line with the intentions of Augustus. The allusion to his selection only once is perhaps best taken to mean that (according to the tradition recorded in Valerius Antias) he died while in office and before the next *lectio*.[75]

A. Cornelius Cossus cos. 428. [. . . *trium*]*pḥa*[*vit*] | [. . . .]*s ab* | [. . . *spolia opima?*] *rettulit* | [. . . *i*]*n rosṭ*[*ris*] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40947). Chioffi has double-asterisked this entry since the mention of the *rostra* does not necessarily relate to the taking of the *spolia opima*—which could not be but those earned by Cossus—and could also point to the statues of the legates

[73] *RG* 7.2.
[74] See Suolahti 1972.
[75] See Ryan 1998, 171.

slain by Lars Tolumnius and/or the Fidenates and exhibited there;[76] possibly the eulogy *CIL* VI.8.3 40915 from the *Forum Iulium* belongs to him.

Whether the inscription indeed belongs to him or not, the famous eyewitness testimony of the Princeps himself concerning Cossus' *spolia opima* and his insistence on their significance[77] makes it abundantly clear that if there was one person who would not be missing in his Gallery of Heroes it was Cornelius Cossus.[78] Was Cossus represented with the *spolia opima* (also as an aid to those who could not read the inscription, or were just too lazy to do so) and if so, were they similar to those of Romulus, and possibly of Marcellus?

M. Furius Camillus dict. 396, 390, 389, 368, 367. *Veios post urbem captam commigrari passus non est. Etruscis ad Sutrium [d]evictis, Aequis et [V]olscis subactis, tertium triumph[a]vit. Quart(um) se[dato] Velitern[orum bello et Gallis in Albano agro caesis?* —] (*InscrIt.* XIII.3 38; 61 = *CIL* VI 1308 with VI.8.3 pp. 4677–8 with discussion and bibliography). This inscription from the *Forum Romanum*, the only epigraphic record of Camillus, no doubt repeats that of the *Forum Augustum*. Whatever the historical truth behind the legend of Camillus, by the time of Augustus and of Livy the picture was complete, and could not have been missing from any sequence of Rome's great men.[79] Certainly, at least the more perceptive visitors to the Forum would be reminded of the strong parallelism evident in Augustan literature between Camillus and the Princeps.[80] The emphasis on the triumphs is as expected, though one would dearly like to know whether room was found for the mention of the triumph in a *quadriga* of white horses, which obviously would point to the *quadriga* of the *Pater Patriae*. It may be more difficult to decipher the message of the first sentence. A tempting interpretation would be to connect Camillus' prevention of the migration to Veii with the rumours concerning the designs of Antony centred on Alexandria.[81] If indeed such an association of ideas was evoked

[76] See Cic. *Phil.* 9.4; Livy 4.17.6; Plin. *nh* 34.23.

[77] Livy 4.20.7.

[78] For the importance of the triumph with *spolia opima* in Augustan representational art see also Schneider 1990.

[79] See Späth 2000; 2001 and Coudry 2001 for the formation of the 'legend' of Camillus and its crystallisation in the Augustan era.

[80] Coudry 2001, 59–65; Ungern-Sternberg 2001.

[81] On these rumours see Syme 1939, 273–5, labelled there (275) a 'magnificent lie'. These rumours would be the expected association of an Augustan viewer, even if the

in the spectators it must have contributed to their appropriate gratitude to the Princeps for saving the City like Camillus.

L. Camillus, the grandson of M., and his colleague in the consulate in 338 Maenius received equestrian statues in the *Forum Romanum*, the earliest securely attested honorary statues in Rome.[82] On the other hand, a statue *in rostris* assigned to the Elder Camillus[83] is less certain[84] and thus we cannot be sure that it could have provided a model for the statue in the Gallery.

M. Valerius Corvus cos. 348, 346, 343. *Statuam Corvino isti divus Augustus in foro suo statuendam curavit. In eius statuae capite corvi simulacrum est rei pugnaeque, quam diximus, monumentum.* (Gell 9.11.10)[85] No weight can be given to Gellius' assigning the erection of the statue to Augustus, a statement which refers only to the general supervision and responsibility for the Forum.

We don't know of course anything about the text of the *elogium*, though it is fair to assume that it would mention Corvus' three triumphs (346 *de Antiatibus*, 343 *de Samnitibus*, 335 *de Calenis et Marsis*). Whether the story of the raven that came to the aid of the young military tribune in his duel with the Gaul was also referred to in the text or only its visual depiction would recall the famous story cannot be known. At any rate this is an important pointer to the sort of iconographic symbols that were no doubt placed in the Gallery where appropriate and also a welcome eyewitness testimony almost two centuries after the opening of the Forum.

L. Papirius Cursor cos. 326, 320, 319, 315, 313, dict. 324, 309. *Bello Samnitium, cum auspicii repetendi caussa Romam redisset atque interim Q. Fabius Amb*[*ust*(*i*) *f.*] *Maximus mag*(*ister*) *equitum iniu*[*ssu eiu*]*s proelio c*[*onflixisset* —]

story was invented on an earlier occasion: Ogilvie on Livy 5.51–4 (pp. 741–2, with earlier literature) connects the invention of the story with the Gracchan proposal to colonise Carthage, the reassertion of the status of Rome after the Social War and the Italians' capital of Corfinium, and the 'malicious gossip' concerning Julius Caesar's plans to transfer the capital to Alexandria or Ilium.

[82] Livy 8.13.9; Oakley ad loc. defends Livy's statement though he seems not to have had the opportunity (publ. 1998) to consult Sehlmeyer 1999, 48–50.

[83] Plin. *nh* 34.22; Ascon. *in Scaur.* 46, 29C.

[84] It is strongly questioned by Sehlmeyer 1999, 51–2, yet accepted by Coudry 2001, 51 n. 8; see also Wallace-Hadrill 1990, 171–2.

[85] See also *InscrIt.* XIII.3 p. 4; *MRR* II.630; *RE* VIIA2 2413–8, no. 137; *CIL* VI.8.3 p. 4851. For the *cognomen* Corvus rather than Corvinus see Oakley on Livy 7.26.2 (p. 239).

(*InscrIt.* XIII.3 62, *CIL* VI 1318, VI.8.3 p. 4679 with discussion and bibliography). Most of the extant portion of the inscription is devoted to Cursor's conflict with Fabius Rullianus, the first appearance of the motif of triumphing over internal struggle and disobeying authority that recurs also in the *elogia* of Fabius Cunctator, of Metellus Numidicus and of Marius (see below).[86] One would dearly like to know whether Rullianus, too, had his own statue and *elogium* in the Forum.[87] Unfortunately the question must remain unresolved, unless his *elogium* be discovered. Rullianus was five times consul, triumphed and was *princeps senatus*, thus seemingly meeting all the necessary criteria. It is also remarkable that he is named, unlike some of those accused of unlawful activities in other *elogia*. On the other hand, one wonders how his inclusion would fit an overall plan of the heroes included and the general editorial policy of the *elogia*.

One imagines that every educated visitor to the Forum gazing at the statue of Papirius Cursor would be reminded of the celebrated comparison of his Rome and Alexander's Macedon, emphasising the superiority of Roman *mores*[88]—at the opening of the Forum the first decade of Livy must have been still fairly hot news. Indeed, Livy in his *laus Cursoris*[89] says of him (§ 19) *nemo unus erat vir quo magis innixa res Romana erat*, thus recalling the two famous Ennian lines *moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque* and *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*.[90] Add to this Augustus' Alexander-*imitatio*,[91] of which the visitor to the Forum would be reminded by the two renowned Alexander paintings by Apelles displayed there most prominently,[92] and one gets a taste of the richness of the possible associations triggered off by a single statue.

App. Claudius Caecus cos. 307, 296. [*Complu*]*ṛa oppi*[*da de Samni*]*ṭịḅ*[*us cepit*] | [*Sabinoru*]*m et Tuṣ*[*corum exercit*]*um* [*fudit*]. | [*P*]*ac*[*em fie*]*ṛi cụ*[*m Pyrrho rege prohibuit*]. | *In ce*[*nsura viam Appiam stravit e*]*t aq*[*uam*] | [*in*] *ụ*[*rbem adduxit. Aedem Bellon*]*ae fe*[*cit*]. (*CIL* VI.8.3 40943 [31606 = I^2 p. 192 no. IX].) To these four fragments of the *tabula* the editors add

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86 Cf. Chaplin 2000, 180–1.
87 As suggested cautiously by Chaplin 2000, 191.
88 Livy 9.16.19–9.19.17 with Oakley pp. 184–261; cf. Galinsky 1996, 136; Spencer 2002, 41–53.
89 Livy 9.16.12–19.
90 See Oakley ad loc., pp. 182–3.
91 Galinsky 1996, 48; 167–8; 199–200; 215, and see also Oakley pp. 198–9 with further bibliography.
92 Plin. *nh* 35.27; 93–4.

what might have been 'fere' inscribed on the base of the statue according to the Arezzo elogium (*InscrIt.* XIII.3 79) where both inscriptions are combined into one: *Ap*(*pius*) *Claudius C*(*ai*) *f*(*ilius*) *Caecus* | *cens*(*or*), *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *bis, dictator,* | *interrex, praetor bis*. Since Caecus never triumphed, it emerges that Suetonius' assertion[93] that all the men in the Gallery were represented in triumphal toga must be seen as a somewhat loose description of the precise state of affairs.

In this case the inscription is a highly important source for the subject's *cursus honorum* (for which see *MRR*). Perhaps to compensate for the lack of a triumph, the *elogium* praises Caecus' military achievements, his rhetorical-political influence—the speech against peace with Pyrrhus was the oldest speech surviving in writing at the end of the Republic[94] and thus probably too famous not to be mentioned—his important peacetime building activities and his temple foundation.

In this case the portrait may well have been based on the *imago* preserved in the temple of Bellona.[95] Despite the opportunity to rely here on a contemporary source, it has been pointed out[96] that what we have is not a direct transcription: according to Frontinus[97] Appius' cognomen was Crassus; and the ancient formula was *viam munire*, while *viam stravit* is first used here.[98]

C. Fabricius Luscinus cos. 282, 278. [—] *et ite*[—]*o ex isdem* [— *missus*] *ad Pyrrh*[*um regem ut captivos redi*]*meret. Effe*[*cit ut ei populo Romano gratis red*]*derentu*[*r* — (*InscrIt.* XIII.3 63, *CIL* VI 37048 with VI.8.3 p. 4813). Triumphator twice (282 *de Bruttiis, Lucanis, Samnitibus*, 278 *de Lucaneis, Brutteis, Tarentinis, Samnitibus*), he was eminently suitable for inclusion, even if he were not a famous *exemplum*.

Fabricius is closely linked, in career and as an *exemplum*, with M'. Curius Dentatus.[99] It would be interesting to know whether the latter, too, was honoured with a statue in the Forum, especially as we happen to know that he was included in Varro's *de imaginibus*.[100]

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93 Suet. *Aug.* 31.5.
94 See Cic. *Brut.* 61.
95 See Plin. *nh* 35.12; cf. Livy 10.19.17.
96 Humm 2005, 53–4.
97 Frontin. *aq.* 5.1.
98 Humm 2005, 56–7. I forego a critique of Humm's analysis of the sources—he opts for Hyginus.
99 Berrendonner 2001, Vigourt 2001.
100 Symm. *ep.* 1.4.2.

Considering a recurring theme in the *elogia*, one would not be surprised if in the missing part the story of Fabricius' support for the election of his enemy Rufinus, and the latter's expulsion from the Senate, appeared.[101] Fabricius was honoured with a statue at Thurii:[102] would the planners of our Gallery go so far as to copy his features from that contemporary monument?

C. Duilius cos. 260. [. . . .] *navis ọc̣*[*toginta et Macellam*] | [*oppidum c*]*epit. Pri*[*m*]*us d*[*e Poenis n*]*aval*[*em trium*]- | [*phum egit. H*]*uic per*[*missum est, u*[*t ab e*]*pulis domum* | [*cum tibici*]*ne ẹ*[*t f*]*ụnali rediret,* [*ei s*]*tatua c̣*[*um*] | [*columna*] *pṛ*[*ope a*]*ṛeam Ṿuḷc̣*[*ani p*]*ọṣ*[*i*]*t*[*a est*]. | *Aedem apud foru*]*ṃ họ*[*litorium ex spoliis Iano fecit*] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40952 [31611 = I² p. 193 no. XI = *ILS* 55], *InscrIt.* XIII.3 13). In an important recent study of the column and inscription and the coinage of Duilius—but in fact of his entire career[103]—we are also offered (at p. 11 n. 40) some additional restorations: clearly Kondratieff and the editors of *CIL* VI.8.3 worked unbeknown to each other. Before our first line he reads a line—*h*—*primus*; he restores our first lines as [*exornare*] *navis co*[*rvo naves Carthaginiensis*], the next [*multas c*]*epit pri*[*m*]*us d*[*e Poeneis n*]*aval*[*em*; the rest of the inscription he reads like the editors of *CIL* VI.8.3.

The triumph after the naval battle off Mylai (Milazzo) was famous; our inscription refers to the column of Duilius,[104] whose fragmentary inscription is in fact extant.[105] That a statue adorned that column is vouchsafed for by our inscription alone. The author of the *elogium* refers to the column and was obviously aware of its inscription. The comparison of the two inscriptions, despite their fragmentary state, thus provides us with an insight into the interests and preferences of Augustus or his collaborators. The military and naval exploits are dealt with much more concisely in our much briefer inscription, with no mention of the spoils, captives and people liberated enumerated there. What our

[101] Sources collected in two tables in Berrendonner 2001, 112.
[102] Plin. *nh* 34.32; cf. Sehlmeyer 1999, 116–17.
[103] Kondratieff 2004.
[104] Also mentioned by Plin. *nh* 34.20; Quint. 1.7.12; Sil. 6.663–6.
[105] *CIL* I² 25 = *ILS* 65 = *ILLRP* 319 = Gordon 1983 no. 48; Gordon makes a case for its being an Early Imperial (Claudian?) copy of an original of Duilius' time rather than an Imperial inscription. Sehlmeyer 1999, 117–19 has an important discussion of the *columna rostrata*, and also argues for an Augustan modernised version of the inscription; see now the exhaustive discussion in Kondratieff 2004.

inscription does include (beside the reference to the *columna rostrata*) and what was apparently missing from the column inscription are the special honours and the foundation of the temple—two recurrent themes in the *elogia*. The special and extraordinary honours granted were famous and often mentioned.[106] Their emphatic presentation should be seen in the context of the various extraordinary honours recorded in the inscriptions of M'. Valerius Maximus and of Marius,[107] and of course of Augustus himself and his emphasis on many of these honours as unprecedented.[108]

Whether Verg. *G.* 3.29 refers to Duilius' column or to the *rostra* taken at Actium and displayed in the Temple of Divus Julius cannot be known for sure. Octavian's own *columna rostrata*[109] appears on a coin,[110] and he may well have taken the idea from Duilius' monument.

The statue must have imitated the portrait on the contemporary naval monument—referring the viewer to that monument only to find there the features of a different person would have been quite maladroit—and thus must have reflected the actual appearance of the victorious admiral. Most importantly, the connexion between the monument of the first naval triumphator and the victor of Actium was a lesson in history that would not be lost on the viewer. Rather luckily for Augustus the family of Duilius became extinct in the third century, so that there could be no question of rivalry, however veiled. If Agrippa was depicted with a naval crown (see above), quite possibly the arrangement of Duilius' monument was made to recall the distinction of the Princeps' late colleague.

Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus cos. 233, 228, 215, 214, 209. [*Q*(*uintus*) *Fabius Q*(*uinti*) *f*(*ilius*) *Maxịm*[*us*] | [*dictator bis, co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *qui*]-*nquien*[*s*] | *censor interrex b*]*ịs aẹd*(*ilis*) * c̣u*[*r*(*ulis*)] | [*q*(*uaestor*) *bis tr*(*ibunus*) *mil*(*itum*) *bis pontif*(*ex*) *aug*(*ur*)] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40953 [31612 = I^2 p. 193 no. XII]). This *titulus* is joined in Arezzo (*InscrIt.* XIII.3 80 = *ILS* 56) with the *elogium* proper: *Primo consulatu Ligures subegit, ex iis triumphavit. Tertio et quarto Hannibalem compluribus victoriis ferocem subsequendo coercuit. Dictator magistro*

[106] Cic. *Cato* 44; Livy *per.* 17; Flor. 1.18.10; Val. Max. 3.4.
[107] Cf. Spannagel 1999, 335–6.
[108] For a discussion of the tradition about Duilius see Gendre and Loutsch 2001, 131–6.
[109] For which see Sehlmeyer 1999, 255–7.
[110] *RIC* I^2 Aug. 271.

equitum Minucio, quoius populus imperium cum dictatoris imperio aequaverat, et exercitui profligato subvenit et eo nomine ab exercitu Minuciano pater appellatus est. Consul quinque Tarentum cepit, triumphavit. Dux aetatis suae cautissimus et re[*i*] *militaris peritissimus habitus est. Princeps in senatum duobus lustris lectus est.* The Cunctator was obviously one of the foremost *exempla* of Roman history.[111] Still, the *elogium* contains a number of remarkable features. Of course the enumeration of the military glories was predictable, but the incident with Minucius was not necessarily to be contained in a brief inscription of a long and celebrated career. Was it a lesson to be learned, or be reminded of, about each man accepting his place and not challenging the position of the Supreme Commander? The story became an illustration of a magnanimous attitude to enemies,[112] but remarkably here, in the Forum whose centre was dominated by the *quadriga* of the Father of his Country, it puts the emphasis on the title *pater* of the then Commander-in-Chief.[113] The second noteworthy point pertains to the first of the two closing sentences. Appraisal rather than factual information is exceptional in the *elogia*. Certainly Fabius was best known for being the Cunctator,[114] but it appears that his military strategy was also the one favoured by Augustus.[115] The last point relates to the last sentence. *Princeps senatus* was of course not a magistracy and was thus not included among the offices held by Fabius. The emphatic closing words must have been very much in line with the thinking of Augustus—if not directly reflecting his own.[116]

Plut. *Fab*. 22.8 attests to a bronze equestrian statue of the Cunctator erected by himself on the Capitol.[117] The sculptor of the statue in the *Forum Augustum* would no doubt use this (or another) authentic portrait for his model, since it is inconceivable that an unfaithful likeness would be exhibited when the true to life features were there for all to see.

M. Claudius Marcellus cos. 222, 215, 214, 210, 208. [. . . . *interf*]*ẹcịṭ*? [. . . .] | [. . . *spolia opi*]*ma rett*[*ulit*. . .] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40944; see also the two

[111] See Sage 1979, 207–9.

[112] Quint. *decl. mai*. 9.17: *Fabio Maximo immortalem attulit laudem ereptus ex hostium manibus inimicus*.

[113] Cf. Spannagel 1999, 335 n. 514; Chaplin 2000, 180 and the scholars cited there.

[114] For the numerous references to Ennius' *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem* see the *testimonia* in Skutsch 1985, l. 363 and his commentary on pp. 529–31.

[115] Spannagel 333 n. 495 appropriately adduces Suet. *Aug*. 25.4; Polyaen. *strat*. 8.24.4.

[116] Cf. above on M'. Valerius Maximus.

[117] Cf. Sehlmeyer 1999, 125–6.

small fragments 40914, where attribution to Marcellus has been considered). This entry was also double-asterisked by the editors. If indeed the restoration of *spolia opima* is correct, as seems to be the case, Marcellus was, in 222, the only Roman general to earn them after Romulus and Cossus, and thus the obvious candidate for this inscription; moreover, it has been argued that Marcellus' feat shaped the entire tradition of the *spolia opima*, and that Augustus later built on this tradition.[118] Though Chioffi considered attributing the inscription to Romulus, there can be no doubt that, whether this inscription belongs to him or not, the five-time consul and winner of the *spolia opima*, Rome's Sword alongside her Shield Fabius Maximus[119] could not be missing from Augustus' Gallery[120]—not to mention that he was the most celebrated of the Claudii Marcelli, the branch of the *gens* to which the sadly deceased young Marcellus belonged.[121] Though the *elogia* are far from uniform, one would have expected for Marcellus something more or less commensurate with, for instance, Fabius Maximus.

Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.86 attests to equestrian statues of Marcelli in most cities of Sicily.[122] Most prominently of course one is reminded of the monument to the three Marcelli.[123] Plutarch, who knew of Fabius Maximus' equestrian statue on the Capitol (see above) and contrasted him with Marcellus without mentioning a statue of the latter, is more than just an incidental *argumentum e silentio* against the existence of such a monument.

P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus cos. 205, 194. — [—] + [—] | [—] +*um q*[—] | [—*tribun*]*um plebis m*+[—] | [—]+*us iniudiç*[*at*—] | [—*i*]*ṇspicere vọ*[*lentem passus non est* (?) —] | [—*tr*(*ibun-*) *pl*(*ebis*) *le*[—] | [—*conse*]*nsú post* [*mortem Romam se referri negavit* (?)] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40948); the two fragments *InscrIt.* XIII.3 22 and 45 were joined by Chioffi. The inclusion of Africanus among the heroes of he Republic could never have been in doubt. However, it is somewhat surprising that the

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118 See Flower 2000.
119 Plut. *Fab.* 19.5.
120 Cf. Flower 2003, 41.
121 Flower 2000, 57–8 considers the possibility of his inclusion on the side of the Iulii.
122 As to the inclusion of our Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, among them, see Sehlmeyer 1999, 121 and Lahusen 1983, 88; 131. For another group of statues of Marcelli, which however perhaps did not include our Marcellus, see Sehlmeyer 1999, 165.
123 Asc. *in Pis.* 44 (12C), and see discussion below, ch. 7.

surviving part of the *elogium*, at least, deals with the incident of his indictment for *repetundae* by the two Q. Petilii and his refusal to be buried in Rome,[124] whatever the historical truth of the episode. We do not know how much preceded the extant part (the bottom of the stone is there so that evidently we have the end of the inscription), but given the size of the known *elogia* it could not have been disproportionately more than the length of the existing text, so that to all appearances short shrift was given to one of the most glorious careers in Roman history. A certain parallel may be found between Scipio's reaction to the two tribunes and Fabius Maximus' treatment of his Master of the Horse, the message in both cases relating to challenges to the man in supreme authority. Augustan ideology is evident, whether emanating directly from the Princeps or vicariously through a lieutenant or amanuensis. Notably here the names of the tribunes in the conflict are omitted.

Metellus Scipio erected on the Capitol gilded equestrian statues[125] of the Scipios that no doubt included one of the most famous member of the family. Whether an ivory statue of Scipio was kept in the *cella* of the temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus is not certain.[126]

C. Cornelius Cethegus cos. 197. — | [— *consul tri*]*umpha*[*vit magno consensu patrum*] | [*de Gallis Insubribus et Ce*]*noma*[*nis. Multos nobiles Gallos et*] | *Hamilcarem ducem eorum c*]*ẹpit eṭ* [*ante currum suum duxit*] | — ? (*InscrIt.* XIII.3 64, *CIL* VI.8.3 40946; 31630 with VI.8.3. p. 4774). The identification is due to the fact that he was the only man who triumphed over the Cenomani.

M. Porcius Cato cos. 195. —? | [—] *recipeṛ*[—] | [—]*r contigiṭ* [—] | [—] *cens*[*o*]*rius ẹt* [—] | —*?* (*CIL* VI.8.3 40958). Chioffi joined the two fragments of the inscription and attributed them hesitantly ('fortasse') to Cato the Censor. The appellation *censorius* appears also in his inscription *CIL* VI 1320 = 37041, though we cannot be certain which of his activities as censor (if indeed he is the subject) was referred to here. Cato was of course a prime example of the great men of olden times who could hardly have been left out of the Gallery. Moreover, leaving him

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[124] See Livy 38.50.1; cf. 38.56.3; 45.38.7.
[125] Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17 *turma inauratarum equestrium.*
[126] See Sehlmeyer 1999, 227, and cf. Flower 1996, 48–52.

out would have amounted to accepting the usurpation of his memory by his great-grandson and would have been seen as senseless vengeance against the memory of Uticensis on the part of the Princeps. For sure, Cato also triumphed from Spain 194, if indeed the triumph was the most important criterion for inclusion. It would be an unsupported guess to refer the very fragmentary inscription to the tribunician attack against him in connexion with the Spanish campaign,[127] or indeed to any of the many court cases of his long career.

The famous saying attributed to him that he would rather that people asked why he had no statues than why he did have one is told on the occasion of the story of erecting him a statue in the temple of Salus.[128] Some statues of Cato are well attested. One that stood in the Senate was used by an Imperial writer to contrast Cato's military and civilian deeds.[129]

Sehlmeyer 1999, 146–7, in his discussion of this statue, doubts that Plutarch indeed paraphrases the text of the inscription of the statue and also that it had already been erected at the time of Cato—he opts for the time of the Gracchi or later.

L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus cos. 190. [*L*(*ucius*) *Corneli*]*us P*(*ubli*) *f*(*ilius*) *S*[*cipio*] | [*Asia*]*ṭịcus* | [*co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *pr*(*aetor*) *aed*(*ilis*) *cu*]*ṛ*(*ulis*) *q*(*uaestor*), *tr*(*ibunus*) [*mil*(*itum*] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40950 [31607 = I^2 p. 194 no. XIV]; *InscrIt*. XIII.3 15). This of course is the *titulus* on the statue base rather than the *elogium* proper, of whose contents we know nothing. Asiaticus is a form not in use before the Augustan age, for Asiagenes or Asiagenus.

Despite playing the role of second fiddle to his celebrated brother, his triumph from Asia over Antiochus III will have amply justified his inclusion. One may assume that he, too, had a gilded equestrian statue among those erected by Metellus Scipio;[130] prior to this he already had

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[127] See Astin 1978, 60.

[128] Plut. *Cato ma*. 19.6–8; for the saying cf. Plut. *apophth. Rom*. 198f., *Cato ma*. 10; *praec. ger. rp*. 820b; Amm. Marc. 14.6.8.

[129] Fronto *ep. Ver*. 2.21 (129 van den Hout^2, l. 20, m^2 *in margine*): *Catonis imaginem de senatu proferri solitam memoriae traditum est: si ob militaria facinora, cur non Camilli, cur non*... *lini, cur non Curii <aliorumque>?* Cf. Hölscher 1978, 326 for occasions of carrying forth images from temples etc.

[130] Cic. *Att*. 6.1.17.

a statue on the Capitol in Greek attire.[131] If so, the likeness would be authentic and could have been a model for later statues, including the one in the *Forum Augustum*, but of course there would be no question of the combination of triumph and Greek dress. Also noteworthy is the history painting of the battle of Magnesia set up by him:[132] it will have contained his likeness—one thinks of the Alexander mosaic.

M. Aemilius Lepidus cos. 187, 175. —] | [—]++[—] | [*et — aed*]*em eo prọ*[*elio — et*] | [*ludos in circo* (?) *e*]*x̣ s*(*enatus*) *c*(*onsulto*) *fecit.* (vac. 1) *A*[*edem Larum in campo dedicavit* (?)] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40939). Chioffi double-asterisks the identification of the subject of this very fragmentary inscription. Whether this indeed belongs to him or not, Lepidus triumphed in 175 *de Liguribus* and was one of the great political and military figures of the first half of the second century, a manifest candidate for inclusion.

If he is indeed the subject of the inscription, an intriguing question arises. Lepidus was six times (in 179, 174, 169, 164, 159, 154) selected *princeps senatus*; if there was any uniformity in the inscriptions, one would have expected this fact to be mentioned at the end of the *elogium*, as it was in the cases of M'. Valerius Maximus and of Fabius Maximus (on both, see above). Could it be that his position was omitted on purpose? As mentioned (see above on M'. Valerius Maximus), Augustus referred to having been *princeps senatus* for forty years in the *Res Gestae*,[133] yet at the time of the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor and the official opening of the Forum in 2 BCE he had fulfilled this function for only twenty-six years; Lepidus died in 152, that is twenty-seven years after his first elevation to his position. Is it that Augustus was given to advertising the unprecedented honours he has been awarded, not people who could vie with him in their achievements?

For killing an enemy and saving the life of a Roman citizen while still a *puer* Lepidus was awarded a *statua bullata et incincta praetexta senatus consulto posita*,[134] in all probability an equestrian monument.[135] The statue thus reflected the likeness, in youth, of Lepidus, and could be used as a model for other statues.

[131] Cic. *Rab. Post.* 27: *non solum cum chlamyde sed etiam cum crepidis*; Sehlmeyer 1999, 144–5 thinks that it may have been erected in the year of his triumph.

[132] Plin. *nh* 35.22.

[133] *RG* 7.2.

[134] Val. Max. 3.1.1.

[135] See Sehlmeyer 1999, 142–3 with Lepidus' equestrian image on the coin *RRC* 419/1; cf. 184, 233; Lahusen 1984, no. 235 mistakenly attributes the statue to the triumvir.

L. Aemilius Paullus cos. 182, 168. *L. Aemilius L. f. Paullus, co(n)s(ul) (bis), cens(or), interrex, pr(aetor), aed(ilis) cur(ulis), q(uaestor), tr(ibunus) mil(itum) tertio, aug(ur). Liguribus domitis priore consulatu triumphavit. Iterum co(n)s(ul), ut cum rege [Per]se bellum gereret, ap[. . . f]actus est; copias regis [decem dieb]us quibus Mac[edoniam atti]git, delev[it, regem cum liberi]s cep[it*—(*InscrIt.* XIII.3 81 [Arezzo]; *CIL* XI 1829 = I² p. 194 no. XV = *ILS* 57; see also *CIL* VI.8.3 p. 4851). If the fragmentary sentence indeed concerns his appointment by popular will to the Macedonian command, as in Plut. *Aem.* 10.3, this would be, if historical, highly irregular.[136] Whether one is to see in referring to this story a hint to Augustus' own appointments in the early stages of his career is highly questionable. Be this as it may, the conqueror of Perseus (and there was of course the triumph *de Liguribus*, 181) was one of the self-evident figures to be included in any Gallery of Heroes one would compose.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus cos. 177, 163. His presence in the Gallery is now vouchsafed for by the wax tablet [*C*(*aio*) *La*]*ecan*[*i*]*o Basso* | [*Q*(*uinto*) *Terentio*] *co*(*n*)*s*(*ulibus pr*(*idie*) *K*(*alendas*) *Febr*(*uarias*) (= 31 January 40) | *Rom*]*ae in foro Augusto* | [*ante*] *statuam Gracci* | [*ad colum*]*nam* | *quar-* | [*tam prox*]*ume gradus*. (Camodeca 1999, no. 19, p. 72). However, even before the discovery of these wax tablets an inscription was attributed to him, though not without some doubts: [*Priore consulatu de Ce*]*ltiber*[*is sociisque eorum*] | [—] *uno t*[*empore* (?)—*triumphavit. Altero*] | [*consulatu ex Sardinia*] *trium*[*phavit* —] | [—*g*]*estu*[*m* (?) —] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40960; *InscrIt.* XIII.3 25). His name only (perhaps from an *elogium*) appears in an Arezzo inscription *CIL* XI 1830 = *ILS* 58 = *InscrIt.* XIII.3 82; the difficult inscription from the *Forum Romanum*, *CIL* VI.8.3 40916 *Priore consu*[| *ris trium*[*phavit*, may perhaps pertain to him. Chioffi ad loc. discusses the different proposals; her favourite would be M. Livius Salinator, and she accordingly supplements [*Illy*]*ris*.

On the exact location of his statue in the Forum see above.

Livy 41.28.8–10 has preserved for us the wording of the inscription with the battles recorded on it which he appended to a painting of Sardinia and deposited in the Temple of Mater Matuta. Remarkably enough, the extant part of the *elogium*—if indeed belonging to Gracchus—does not reflect the text of that inscription.

[136] Cf. Reiter 1988, 156 n. 184.

We know of a statue of his between the *Forum Romanum* and the house of his younger son.[137] Whatever the exact occasion, this statue must have been erected in the subject's lifetime and could thus serve as a model for later portraits.

Claudius: C. Claudius Pulcher cos. 177 or **C. Claudius Nero** cos. 207. [*C*(*aius*)] *Claud*[*ius Ap*(*pi*) *f* (*ilius*) *Pulcher*] | *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*), *ç*[*ens*(*or*) *Xvir leg*(*atus*)] | *tr*(*ibunus*) *m*[*il*(*itum*), *pr*(*aetor*), *q*(*uaestor*), *aug*(*ur*)] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40945 [31605= I^2 p. 197 no. XXII; *InscrIt.* XIII.3 19]). The attribution of the editors is very tentative and they recognise the equally strong claims of Claudius Nero, championed by Spannagel 1999, 321–4: [*C*(*aius*)] *Claud*[*ius Ti. f. Nero*] | *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *ç*[*ensor pr*(*aetor*), *q*(*uaestor*)] | *tr*(*ibunus*) *m*[*il*(*itum*)]; Spannagel would attribute this *cursus* inscription to the subject of the fragment of an *elogium* 40949: — | [— *op*]*p̣ida c*[*epit* (?) —] | [— *H*]*asdrub̦*[*al-*] | [— *Car*]*ṭhag*[*in*—] | —? This last could best be ascribed to Scipio Aemilianus (an obvious hero in the Gallery and attested by a literary source, see below), if not to Claudius Nero. Since previous scholars tended to underestimate the number of statues in the *Forum Augustum*, a restrictive view was often taken as to the suitability of various candidates for inclusion in the Gallery of Heroes. On the present view both Claudius Pulcher and Claudius Nero may have been included, whoever was/were the subject(s) of these inscriptions. I see in the reference to Nero in Manil. 1.791 (see below, ch. 7) a strong claim for his inclusion in the Gallery.

P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus cos. 147, 134. *Aemilianum quoque Scipionem Varro auctor est donatum obsidionali in Africa Manilio consule III coloribus servatis totidemque ad servandas eas eductis, quod et statuae eius in foro suo divus Augustus subscripsit* (Plin. *nh* 22.13); for the possibility that the inscription *CIL* VI.8.3 40949 relates to him see above. Was saving the three cohorts by means of three others the only feat recorded in the *elogium* of the destroyer of Carthage? If the *corona obsidionalis* adorned the statue, as one would find it reasonable to assume, and the inscription could be read as well, what was Pliny's point in referring to Varro? Is it that quoting evidence from a most learned authority was valued more than autopsy?

[137] Plut. *CGr* 14; cf. Sehlmeyer 1999, 150–1 with discussion of the possible locations and dates for its display.

We know of two statues of Aemilianus, one behind the Temple of Ops and one next to the Heracles of Polycles; a third, as it appears a copy of an older one, was set up by the badly informed Metellus Scipio, who mistook the statue of the Younger Africanus for that of his own great-grandfather Scipio Nasica Sarapio.[138] Thus this letter is also important testimony for new images being copied from old ones, besides attesting to the fact that the brevity of the inscriptions could have led astray even members of their own aristocratic family—Cicero being scandalised should be taken *cum grano salis*.

Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus cos. 143. — | [—]*m M*[—] | [— *a*]*ḅẹsset, consuḷ*[*ares filios reliquit tres* (?)] | [*cum co*]*nsul quartus pṛ*[*oxime futurus esset* (?)] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40941; *InscrIt.* XIII.3 21). Both Chioffi and Degrassi (following de Sanctis) attribute this, not without some doubts, to Macedonicus. He was fortunate in leaving at his death four sons of whom three attained the consulate in their father's lifetime and the fourth was elected to the consulate after his father's death, as well as two or three daughters.[139] This was a famous story and a source of pride for the family, but also grist for the mill of the author of the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*. Macedonicus triumphed in 146 over Andriscus.

Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17 tells us of Metellus Scipio's ignorance concerning the statues of his great-grandfather Scipio Nasica Sarapio and of Scipio Aemilianus; Aemilianus' likeness over the name of Sarapio was among an entire *turma inauratarum equestrium* set up by the unfortunate Metellus Scipio (see above). How Degrassi 1962b, 293 constructs this to mean that among these were statues not only of the Scipios, but also of the Caecilii Metelli (his family by adoption), I know not.[140] Of course, lack of attestation in such a case does not amount to much: it is difficult to imagine that the four consular sons (and the consular and praetorian sons-in-law) did not set up a statue of their father.

Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus cos. 109. (*Titulus*): *Q. Caeç*[*ilius Q*(*uinti*) *f*(*ilius*) *Metellus*] | *Numidicus* | [*cens*(*or*) *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *pr*(*aetor*) *aug*(*ur*)].

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[138] Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17, and see Shackleton Bailey ad loc.; on the *turma inauratarum equestrium* set up by him see *LTUR* II 230, s.v. Equus: Metelli (turma equestrium) (E. Papi).

[139] See sources and discussion in van Ooheghem 1967, 51–8, stemma opp. p. 22.

[140] Chioffi in *CIL* VI.8.3 40942 quotes *LTUR* II 230, s.v. Equus: Metelli (turma equestrium) (E. Papi) as if he followed Degrassi's interpretation; he did not. Moreover, he refers to Lahusen 1983, who speaks at 11 and 57 expressly of statues of the Scipios; at 137 of Metellus Scipio's 'ancestors'.

(*Elogium*): — ? | [— *complures civitates in*] | [*pote*]*ṣtaṭe*[*m accepit, de rege Iugurtha triumphavit*] | [*ce*]*nsor L*(*ucium*) *Eq̣*[*uitium, qui se Ti*(*beri*) *Gracchi filium mentiebatur* | [*in cen*]*s*[*um non recepit*—] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40942 [31604 = I² p. 196 no. XIX]). For a discussion of the false Gracchus incident see van Ooteghem 1967, 166–9,[141] and for a discussion of his name Münzer *RE* VI 322 no. 3. Though this incident is mentioned in the *elogium*, Numidicus' failure to expel Glaucia and Saturninus from the Senate is apparently not, nor do we hear of his exile after refusing to swear to Saturninus' *lex agraria*. One could of course concoct an explanation for this, though if there were clear guidelines or absolute consistency as to what to include and what to exclude from the *elogia* rather than general principles they escape us. Of course, Augustus may have made any number of ad hoc decisions.

On statues of the Metelli see above on Macedonicus.

C. Marius cos. 107, 104–100, 86. *C*(*aius*) *Marius C*(*ai*) *f* (*ilius*) | *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) (*septies*), *pr* (*aetor*), *tr*(*ibunus*) *pl*(*ebis*), *qu*(*aestor*), *aug*(*ur*), *tr* (*ibunus*) *mil*(*itum*). *Extra* | *sortem bellum cum Iugurtha rege Numidiae* | *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *gessit, eum cepit et triumphans in* | *secundo consulatu ante currum suum* | *duci iussit. Tertium co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *absens creatus* | *est.* (*Quartum*) *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *Teutonorum exercitum* | *delevit.* (*Quintum*) *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *Cimbros fudit, ex iis et* | *Teutonis iterum triumph*[*avit*]. *Rem pub*(*licam*) *turbatam* | *seditionibus tr*(*ibuni*) *pl*(*ebis*) *et praetor*(*is*), | *qui armati Capitolium occupaverunt,* (*sextum*) | *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *vindicavit. Post* (*septuagesimum*) *annum patria per arma* | *civilia expulsus armis restitutus* (*septimum*) | *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *factus est. De manubiis Cimbric*(*is*) *et Teuton*(*icis*) | *aedem Honori et Virtuti victor fecit. Veste* | *triumphali, calceis patriciis* [—] *CIL* VI.8.3 40957 (= 31598) which has only seventeen letters (of which seven are dotted) extant, has been restored from the (but for the end) virtually perfect Arezzo copy, *InscrIt.* XIII.3 83; a much larger fragment of another copy had been excavated already in the fifteenth century in the via Flaminia: *CIL* VI.8.3 41024 (I p. 290 no. XXXII = I² p. 195 no. XVII). I give the line divisions suggested by Alföldy and Chioffi. Degrassi duly remarks (*InscrIt.* XIII.3 p. 65): 'nomina hominum sileri qui male de patria meriti sint etiam in elogio Luculli (n. 84) videbimus', and see also above the *elogium* of Africanus, where the two Q. Petillii are apparently not named. This surely seems a nice Augustan touch, in line with the author of the pregnant silences in the *Res Gestae*, though of course it could equally be

[141] Cf. also Sage 1979, 200.

argued that any assistant or any agent of Augustus in the composition of the *elogia* would be acquainted with his style in the matter. Also the enumeration of the seven consulates, unprecedented as connoisseurs of Republican history will have been aware, must have recalled the man whose Forum it was and who held his thirteenth consulship in the year of the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor and the opening of the entire complex to the public. For the remarks on the dress at the end cf. above on the special honours granted to Duilius. Plutarch[142] saw Marius' marble portrait in Ravenna and describes his appearance. He also tells us[143] how Caesar as aedile exhibited highly artistic gilt statues of Marius with Nikai carrying trophies on the Capitol, and inscriptions relating to the victories over the Cimbri; the monuments commemorating the victories over Cimbri and Teutones are also attested elsewhere.[144] These monuments were originally set up by Marius himself.[145] There was more than one statue as the monuments accumulated, probably on the occasions of the triumphs of 104 and 101. One wonders whether all these were triumphal statues or whether some also showed the wounds on his breast,[146] perhaps worked in a different metal, say in the manner of the Terme Boxer.

Weynand *RE Suppl.* VI 1423 discusses various proposed identifications of portraits of Marius. It cannot be repeated too often that the only possible means of identifying the portrait of a person is by an inscription and not by an analysis, however expert or inspired, of his physiognomy.

Surely the inclusion of Marius, alongside with Sulla (see below), was a seal on the history of the Republic—Ancient History and its controversies and even civil wars were by now irrelevant under a benevolent First Citizen and Father of his Country. Moreover, the Julian family connexion was of some importance, though in all probability not to a degree that would have led to his inclusion on the Julian side of the Forum.

L. Cornelius Sulla Felix cos. 88, 80. [*L*(*ucius*) *Cornelius L*(*uci*) *f*(*ilius*) *Sulla*] | *Felix,* | *ḍ*[*ictator r*(*ei*) *p*(*ublicae*)] *c̣ọ*[*nst*(*ituendae*)] | [*co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) *bis, pr*(*aetor*), *tr*(*ibunus mil*(*itum*), *q*(*uaestor*), *aug*(*ur*)] (*CIL* VI.8.3 40951 [31609]; *InscrIt.* XIII.3 18.) The inscription (in truth one word and some pitiful

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[142] Plut. *Mar.* 2.1; for the appearance cf. also Vell. 2.11.
[143] Plut. *Caes.* 6.1–2.
[144] Suet. *Iul.* 11.
[145] Sehlmeyer 1999, 192–3; cf. 217–18.
[146] See Sall. *Iug.* 85.29.

remnants of perhaps three letters) was found in the south-western exedra, perhaps its original site. As affirmed above, the inclusion of both Marius and Sulla perhaps best symbolised the irrelevance now of even the most destructive of old Republican conflicts. Augustus would surely have gone along with the saying attributed to his adoptive father, that Sulla in resigning did not know the ABC (of politics).[147]

The monument on the Capitol, no doubt erected after consultation with Sulla, depicted him seated on the *sella quaestoria* between Bocchus and the fettered Jugurtha, and is represented on a coin of his son Faustus Sulla.[148] In 82 Sulla also received a gilt equestrian statue on the *rostra* with the inscription rendered by Appian (*bc* 1.451) Κορνηλίου Σύλλα ἡγεμόνος Εὐτυχοῦς. In the sequence (1.452) he explains the epithet Ἐπαφρόδιτος as Faustus. The Latin original is to be divined from a statue basis from Ausonia (Suessa Aurunca), probably a copy of this: *L(ucio) Cornelio L(uci) [f(ilio)] | Sullae Felici Imperatori publice* (*CIL* I² 720 = *ILLRP* 351); this equestrian statue is also depicted on a coin.[149]

L. Licinius Lucullus cos. 74. *L. Licinius L. f. Lucullus, co(n)s(ul), pr(aetor), aed(ilis) cur(ulis), q(uaestor), tr(ibunus) militum, aug(ur). Triumphavit de rege Ponti Mithridate et de rege Armenia{e} Ti[g]rane, magnis utriusque re[g]is copiis compluribus proelis terra marique superatis. Conlegam suum pulsum a rege Mithridat[e], cum se in Calchadona contulisset, opsidione liberavit* (*InscrIt.* XIII.3 84 [Arezzo]; *CIL* I² p. 196 no. XXI = XI 1832 = *ILS* 60; see now also *CIL* VI.8.3 p. 4851). For a discussion of Lucullus' triumph (*de Mithridate et Tigrane*, delayed until 63) see Keaveney 1992, 135–6 and 225 n. 6. Though no statues of his are attested in Rome, Plutarch (*Cim.* 3.2) saw a marble one erected by the city of Orchomenus. It would be nice to know whether his brother Marcus (after his adoption M. Terentius Varro Lucullus), cos. 73 and triumphator over the Thracians in 71, was included with him in the Gallery; since it is unclear which Terentius Varro adopted him, one should be careful about assuming Varronian influence on this issue.

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147 Suet. *Iul.* 77: *Sullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit.*
148 See discussion in Sehlmeyer 1999, 194–6.
149 See discussion in Sehlmeyer 1999, 204–8; for the further fortunes of this statue see ibid. 231.

33–93?

The very fragmentary inscriptions *CIL* VI.8.3 40961–41121, of which only two or three allow for even the most tentative guesses, attest sixty-one persons at most, though many of these may be very doubtful. With the possible exceptions of the two or three to be presently mentioned, any of these could of course have equally belonged to the Julian side of the Forum, especially if we accept the loose definition of 'Iulii' advocated above. *CIL* VI.8.3 40961 = *InscrIt.* XIII.3 33 may be read as *C*]*orn*[*elius*, a name for which an abundance of candidates can be found; for 40962 = *InscrIt.* XIII.3 56]*abe*+[has been proposed to refer to Q. Fabius Labeo cos. 183, but the latest editors wisely conclude their discussion with 'res tamen in dubio manet'. 40963 = 31625 = *InscrIt.* XIII.3 24, an inscription with references to *argentum* (twice) and a triumph, may refer to Scipio Aemilianus (see Plin. *nh* 33.141), who is already attested in a literary source (Plin. *nh* 22.13, and see above). However, if we follow Spannagel 1999, 321–14 and add 40949 to 40945 and attribute this to C. Claudius Nero cos. 207 (see above), then it is not implausible to assign the fragment under discussion to Aemilianus. In any case this would not add a further person to our list. 40985].*Na*[...].*P* + [may perhaps refer to Scipio Nasica cos. 191 or cos. it. 155.[150] But the great importance of these fragments is in their very numbers, which thus provide some tangible confirmation for the large number of statues postulated above.

Of course speculation about who else may have been represented in the Hall of Fame may be extended, especially on the present view of a considerably greater number of statues than has been previously envisaged. One proposal[151] considers the heroes listed by Ovid as having possibly been deserving of the name Augustus though eventually acquiring other *cognomina*[152] derived from the Gallery of the Forum. Indeed, some of them are known to have been represented, such as Scipio Africanus (l. 593; however, still listed by Anderson as not attested), Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus cos. 109 (l. 595), Scipio Aemilianus (l. 596), Drusus (l. 597), Corvus (l. 602), and Fabius Maximus (ll. 605–6).[153]

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[150] Cf. Spannagel 1999, 324 n. 431.

[151] Anderson 1984, 85–6.

[152] Ov. *f.* 1.593–606, for 13 January, the day Augustus was given this name (the partial conflict of this with the *Fasti Praenestini* is not at issue here).

[153] Though Ovid speaks of the Fabii Maximi in the plural, the reference should be taken as belonging to the most famous bearer of the name.

Others in this parade, perhaps not less deserving, are not known to have had their statues in the *Forum Augustum*. They include P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus cos. 79 (l. 593), Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus cos. 69 (l. 594), M'. Valerius Maximus Messala cos. 263 (l. 595),[154] T. Manlius Torquatus (l. 601), and Pompey (ll. 603–4). For this last other claims have also been made,[155] and on the other hand it has been argued that such personages as Brutus, Cassius and Antony were certainly, while Cicero and Cato the Younger were only probably, excluded.[156] It is probably best to abandon speculation at this point.[157]

As we have seen, triumphs were not the only yardstick, nor were they a sufficient one, since it was not possible to include all the 200 or so triumphators[158] listed on the arch in the *Forum Romanum*. This list in fact points towards two important features of the somewhat later Forum of Augustus. First, the location of the inscription of Cornelius Balbus at the bottom of the plaque, clearly announcing that this was the last 'Republican' triumph,[159] is a harbinger of the closing of the list of 'Republican' personages, represented in marble, in the Gallery of Heroes: those that were to come later, the bronze representations of heroes of the Empire, were men who would earn their places by the approval of Augustus or his successors. This was not very different from what was to happen to the triumph, from now on the monopoly of the Imperial House and leaving to victorious heroes who were lesser mortals only the rather reduced glory of the *ornamenta triumphalia*. The dividing line between the past and the New Regime was visually alluded

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[154] Although the reference to the man who was named after Messana (cf. *InscrIt.* XIII.1 40f) is clear, Anderson 1984, 85 perplexingly takes it to point to the M'. Valerius Maximus who is attested in the *elogia*, viz. the dict. 594.

[155] Frisch 1980 believes in his inclusion since his image had also been paraded in the funeral of Augustus, see Dio 56.34.3. Of course, one cannot be sure whether Augustus changed his mind towards the end of his life—or was his funeral procession arranged without knowledge of, or regard to, his exact wishes?

[156] Geiger 2005, 240.

[157] *InscrIt.* XIII.3 11 (*CIL* I^2 p. 191 no. VII; VI 1272), found built in the cupola of the Pantheon, tells of L. Albinius leading away the Vestal virgins to Caere at the time of the Gallic siege and then back to Rome. For the rejection (with ample bibliography) of Degrassi's claim that this was an *elogium* from the *Forum Augustum* see *CIL* VI.8.3 p. 4667 ad 1372; Luce 1990, 130, 131–2 discusses the *elogium* at length and accepts its provenance from the Forum of Augustus.

[158] I count those listed in the *Fasti Capitolini* after the kings and excluding Augustus and Antony as well as taking score, *grosso modo*, of the *lacunae.*

[159] Wallace-Hadrill 1987, 224.

to by 18/17 BCE, and presented to be seen plainly and expressly by all and sundry in the arrangement of the *Forum Augustum*.[160] Second, it has been noted[161] that Augustus 'must...have employed some scholar or historian to compile and check the *Fasti*', and the names of Iulius Hyginus and Fenestella have been tentatively suggested. The Fasti had clearly established strictures and it is likely that Augustus employed some help to check carefully each person's credentials. On the other hand the criteria for inclusion in his Forum would be determined by Augustus alone. Nevertheless one feels that here, too, the Princeps would be prudent enough to employ scholarly help. Varro, Nepos and Atticus were all long dead by the time Augustus could have started seriously contemplating the list of persons to be represented in his Forum, and so any inspiration provided to Augustus came from their writings rather than from personal communication. Both of the above mentioned scholars, Iulius Hyginus and Fenestella, as well as the learned Verrius Flaccus come to mind as possible scholarly advisers of Augustus, but these of course are only guesses. But above all and as a last word—this was Augustus' Forum, his Hall of Fame, and whether his responsibility extended to each and every detailed decision or not, it was he who determined its scope and character.

It appears, then, that some hints at Augustan authorship can be detected even in our pitiful remains. At present one instance will be fully discussed.[162] We have seen the emphasis on the position of the *princeps senatus* in the *elogia* of M'. Valerius Maximus and of Fabius Maximus, and detected a significant omission in the case of M. Aemilius Lepidus—if indeed we are dealing with his inscription. To return to the text of *RG* 7: *Princeps senatus fui usque ad eum diem, quo scripseram haec, per annos quadraginta*. The position of the sentence is emphatic, between the enumeration of his offices ending with the extraordinary office of triumvir, and the list of his priesthoods. Moreover, one should also pay attention to the Greek version: Πρῶτον ἀξιώματος τόπον ἔσχον τῆς συνκλήτου ἄχρι

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[160] The clear distinction between Republican and later by means of marble and bronze has not been comprehended by Gowing 2005, 139—typical of a discussion of the *Forum Augustum* (137–45) crowded with factual mistakes.

[161] Wallace-Hadrill 1987, 224.

[162] Anderson 1984, 83–5 discusses a number of parallels between the heroes and Augustus; though some of these may well have been in the mind of Augustus, his advisers, or members of the public, it appears prudent to limit the discussion to cases in which the 'Augustan' virtues, offices or acts of the heroes are expressly attested in the *elogia*.

ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς ταῦτα ἔγραψον, ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, where the same pregnant word ἀξίωμα is used that translates *auctoritas* in the celebrated passage describing Augustus' position as he wished it to be understood (34). One could perhaps also see the crowning of some illustrious Republican careers with the status of *princeps senatus*—not quite a magistracy, but an official and significant title—as the (however faint) foreshadowing of the final accord of the *Res Gestae*, the recognition of Augustus as Father of his Country (35.1).[163]

It may also be of some consequence that our instances are the earliest epigraphic attestations of the title. This does not of course cast a doubt on the very position or on its importance, but remarkably the state of the evidence does not seem to have attracted attention. Apart from the highly questionable M'. Valerius Maximus, to whom we shall return, from the Fabii of the fifth century down to L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus cos. 156, none of the *principes senatus* are mentioned as such by Cicero or other Republican sources. Their attestation in Livy may of course go back either to the annalistic tradition or to Polybius, whose reference (32.6.5) to M. Aemilius Lepidus cos. 187 holding the office—also to be returned to—is extant. The earliest holder of the position[164] mentioned by Cicero is P. Cornelius Lentulus cos. 162[165] and in fact the only other person he cares to mention as *princeps senatus*[166] is M. Aemilius Scaurus cos. 115, a man figuring very prominently in all of Cicero's writings. It seems safe to say that Cicero, and we may perhaps extend this to his contemporaries, knew little or cared little about who filled this position in the Early and Middle Republic.[167]

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[163] See also discussion in Spannagel 1999, 342–4.

[164] For the order of the *principes senatus* see Suolahti 1972, 216–17; Willems 1878, I 112–15.

[165] Cic. *div. Caec*. 69; *leg. agr*. 2.82; *Phil*. 8.14; he is called *princeps* at *de or*. 1.211 and *Brut*. 108.

[166] I disregard so-called (plebeian and probably not actually carrying the title) *principes senatus* among Cicero's contemporaries or near-contemporaries, including Cicero himself, for whom see Suolahti 1972, 112 and the discussion of Bonnefond-Coudry 1989, 706–9.

[167] Meier 1984, 191 observes that Livy almost never fails to mention the holder of the position; he may have noticed the contrary about Cicero. This is not the place to discuss the many innovative ideas of Ryan 1998 concerning the *princeps senatus*, as his conclusions do not affect the matter at hand. It is however of some interest to note that in his discussion of P. Cornelius Lentulus, the first *princeps* attested by Cicero, he remarks (188) that '[w]e are fortunate that the testimonia are so numerous', without noting the novelty in the provenance of these *testimonia*. Moreover, in what follows (189) he makes inferences about who might not have been *princeps senatus* at a certain time from Cicero's

Evidently in the Augustan Age this evaluation underwent a drastic change. The first person to whom the position of *princeps senatus* is ascribed is M'. Valerius Maximus cos. 494, and the above quoted *elogium* is the only source to make that claim. In fact the claim seems to be strongly doubted, or rejected, by some modern authorities,[168] and is best seen as one of the many inventions glorifying his *gens* made up by Valerius Antias. However, even if the *elogium* only follows Antias in attributing the position of *princeps senatus* to M'. Valerius Maximus, the reference, and the emphatic position, may well point to the Augustan redaction of the document.

The same position, at the very end of the *elogium*, is occupied by the statement about the appointment, twice, of Fabius Maximus as *princeps senatus*. It comes after a reference to his fifth consulate and to the most celebrated fact of all about him, his being *cautissimus dux* (the 'Cunctator') of his times. Although the selection of Fabius Maximus is also otherwise attested,[169] one should not take this mention in a reference to one of the longest and most illustrious careers of the Republic, where there was no dearth of material, as self-evident. It seems that special care was taken to highlight the position; its importance would reflect on the Princeps, the double selection on the holder of the position for forty[170] years.

It is in this light that a very tentative restoration in one of the *elogia* will be offered. As we have seen, *CIL* VI.8.3 40939 is one of the most difficult fragmentary *elogia*. The identification of the dedicatee rests on the phrases *ae*]*dem eo pro̩*[*elio* and *e*]*x̩ s.c*. These are best taken by the editor as referring to M. Aemilius Lepidus cos. 187, 175, who vowed a Temple to Diana after defeating the Ligurians[171] and petitioned the Senate eight years later for a grant to fulfil his vow.[172] This man was selected *princeps senatus* a record six times,[173] and his sixth selection is expressly referred to in the *epitome* of Livy 48: *M. Aemilius Lepidus qui*

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failure to mention this position in appropriate places, rather than making the correct deduction about Cicero's knowledge of the facts or interest in them. At 202 he remarks that 'Plutarch could write the biography of an undoubted *princeps* and fail to mention the position, and did so in the case of Verrucosus', without remarking on the failure of Cicero, who he thinks is interested in the matter, to mention the same fact.

[168] Suolahti 1972, 207 n. 3.

[169] Livy 27.11.9–12.

[170] By the time of the final revision of the *Res Gestae*; in the event forty-one.

[171] Livy 39.2.7–9.

[172] Livy 40.52.1–3.

[173] Livy 40.51.1; 41.27.1; 43.15.6; *epit.* 46; 47; 48; Plut. *Aem.* 38 fin.; Plb. 32.6.5.

princeps senatus sextis iam censoribus lectus <erat>... In view of this we may take a fresh look at the bottom line of the elogium, which reads]*x s.c. fecit. A*[. The tentative restoration offered by the editor (L. Chioffi), perhaps only *exempli gratia*, is *A*[*edem Larum in campo dedicavit*. With even greater diffidence I would put forward *A*] *sextis censoribus* (*sextum?*) *princeps senatus lectus est*. This is quite long, but we do not know the length of the lines of this inscription nor the possible abbreviations used. It would put the mention of this position in the same place as the two other references[174] and the record-keeping would be very much in line with Augustus' style in the *Res Gestae*.[175]

To return very briefly to the second point: in the discussion of the *elogium* of Marius reference has been made to Degrassi's observation concerning Augustus' custom of not mentioning his enemies by name, where the *elogium* of Lucullus has also been adduced. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the *elogia* are not unvarying in their scheme: in the *elogium* of Numidicus the name of L. Equitius, the pretended son of Ti. Gracchus, is disclosed.[176] Possibly this was too lowly a person and too mean an action to be considered, or perhaps this is just another sign of the non-standardised editing of the inscriptions.[177]

[174] Perhaps no undue importance should be given to the variation of the expression as compared with the two safe occurrences of the term.

[175] One might object that by 2 BCE, the latest date for the redaction of the document, Augustus had been *princeps senatus* for only twenty-six years as against the thirty years presumed by the non-expert reader in relation to Lepidus' six terms. In fact Lepidus, first selected in 179, died in 152, after twenty-seven years; and any assumptions about Augustus' sticking to the facts or his hope for longevity could be put forward.

[176] This is in fact the earliest mention of the name, which otherwise occurs only in Val. Max. 9.7.1; 3.2.18; 3.8.6; 9.15.1, and corrupted to Quinctius in *vir. ill.* 62.1, who may well have derived his information from our inscription; for the other sources see Münzer *RE* VI 322 no. 3.

[177] In view of the present discussion it is rather strange to speak about 'a standard inscription' allotted to the heroes, whose '[d]istinguishing features [were] ironed out' (Beard and Henderson 2001, 170).

CHAPTER SIX

AFTER AUGUSTUS: THE AGE OF BRONZE [1]

As we have seen, Augustus made provisions for adding bronze statues to the marble galleries of his Forum, though it is not absolutely clear whether they were to be added immediately upon the opening of the Forum in 2 BCE or rather, more realistically, only after his decease. No doubt the Emperors succeeding Augustus had the same discretion in the bestowal both of the *ornamenta triumphalia* and of a bronze statue in the Forum, and it is wrong to conclude that the statue followed automatically upon the triumphal honours.[2] Moreover, in addition to a number of general statements about widespread gifts of triumphal ornaments, we are in possession of some two dozen or so specific instances from Tiberius to Trajan, no doubt far less than the original sum total, and one suspects space would not have sufficed if the donation of statues would have followed as a matter of course.[3] Though many of those receiving statues were presented with *ornamenta triumphalia*, it would be wrong to assume that all those thus distinguished were honoured with statues as well—we have seen in the previous chapter that it was not possible to reward all Republican triumphators in this manner, and one would assume this a fortiori for those in receipt of triumphal ornaments only. Indeed, were the granting of a statue an automatic concomitant of this distinction, it would deprive the Emperor of a grade in his discretion to grant his favours.

In any case, it was only to be expected that Augustus' directives concerning those deemed worthy of bronze statues after his time would

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[1] More recent discoveries render Gordon 1952, 305–30 somewhat out of date; also he did not include members of the Imperial family in his list. Nevertheless, he brings much valuable material and his general remarks are worth studying. Henceforth reference will be made, where possible, to the numbers in his list.

[2] Eck 1984, 142 interprets Dio 55.10.3 (triumphators should dedicate to Mars their sceptre and crown καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμὰς λαμβάνοντας should receive bronze statues in the Forum) as pertaining to all those who had received triumphal honours; cf. also ibid. 145. I believe that Dio should be given a less sweeping interpretation.

[3] Eck 1984, 143 himself estimates some thirty cases under Augustus and some forty more until Hadrian—and this exclusive of the Imperial family!

be interpreted by his successors as it suited them. In 23 CE Lucilius Longus, Tiberius' close friend in good days and bad, the only senator who had accompanied him in his Rhodian sojourn, died: although a *homo novus* (he was cos. 7),[4] the Senate voted him a public funeral (*censorium funus*) and a statue at public expense in the *Forum Augustum*.[5] Hardly a man who had enlarged the dominion of the Roman People. Whether this was 'totally anomalous'[6] we have no means of knowing; in any case Dio (57.21.3) asserts that Tiberius honoured many men with statues (location unspecified) and public funerals.[7]

To return to the choice of heroes. Even if Tiberius had set a precedent, it is not difficult to imagine that his successors were no less prone to reward their favourites. Certainly the relatively few statues attested and discussed below, probably only a fraction of those granted, belong as a rule to persons highly esteemed by the Princeps of the time. If one may draw conclusions from such a small sample, it seems that almost all the other attested statues after that of Lucilius Longus[8] were presented as a reward in the subject's lifetime, so that apparently this was, or became, the rule.[9] We have of course seen that Augustus had already set the precedent with the statue of Tiberius. This may be an additional argument for assuming that Licinius Sura, who was accorded a statue and a public funeral by Trajan,[10] was not honoured in the *Forum Augustum*, as opposed to the three consulars whom Dio mentions together and of whom one is in all probability elsewhere attested as represented in the Forum of Augustus (see below). Whether it is only because of the scarcity and randomness of our sources that we have no evidence for Tiberius setting up statues for the living cannot be known. At any rate Caligula, for whom no evidence at all exists for erecting statues in the *Forum Augustum*, is expressly said to have forbidden setting up statues

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[4] Henceforth in this chapter all dates are CE, unless otherwise specified.

[5] Tac. *a*. 4.15.1.

[6] Thus Syme 1986, 363.

[7] Cf. also Dio 58.4.8.

[8] The other exception seems to be Vestricius Spurinna's son Cottius, if indeed his statue was set up in the Forum—and at any rate his case was exceptional, the statue having been earned by the living father rather than by the dead son (see below). The case of Germanicus—and other members of the Imperial family—is of course different.

[9] Contra Eck 1984, 145, who thinks that the donations were as a rule after death.

[10] Dio 68.15.3[2] and cf. Gordon 1952, 323 no. 60.

for the living.[11] Was this a reaction to Tiberius or just an expression of a policy that had been tacitly pursued by his predecessor?

In fact, we must infer from the much more extensive evidence Gordon was able to assemble for those who merited *ornamenta triumphalia* than for those who were accorded a statue in the *Forum Augustum* that the latter was the rarer, and hence probably the more highly esteemed, honour. Of course quite often honorary statues are mentioned without any reference to their location. However, not infrequently we are told of honorary statues at various other sites in the city, so that in unspecified cases it would be rash to infer a location in the *Forum Augustum* without good reason. Some examples will make this clear. Seianus was honoured by the Senate with a bronze statue in the theatre of Pompey[12] and later, together with Tiberius, with statues on either side of the Ara Amicitiae.[13] The general reference in Tacitus to laurelled statues 'in the City'[14] of the three generals who failed to defeat Tacfarinas seems to imply that these (or, at the very least, one or two of them) were not at the specific location of the *Forum Augustum*. L. Vitellius, father of the future Emperor, received a public funeral under Claudius and a statue *pro rostris*.[15] It seems that, perhaps because of the proliferation of statues in the Forum or indeed because room was already scarce, other locations were more frequently used and perhaps also became no less prestigious: when, after the suppression of the Pisonian conspiracy, the Senate on Nero's initiative decided to honour three men who were somehow connected with its discovery or repression,[16] they were voted *ornamenta triumphalia* and statues in the Forum (viz., of Augustus); two of them were also specially honoured with statues *apud Palatium*.[17] At any rate, probably by the time of Hadrian[18] but certainly by the reign

[11] Suet. *Gaius* 34: *Vetuitque posthac viventium cuiquam usquam statuam aut imaginem nisi consulto et auctore se poni* (à propos his removal of statues transferred by Augustus from the Capitolium to the Campus Martius).

[12] Tac. *a.* 3.72 *effigiem... apud theatrum Pompei*; Dio 57.21.3 χαλκοῦν; cf. Sen. *Marc. cons.* 22.4; Tac. *a.* 4.2, and general references in Gordon 1952, 316 no. 25.

[13] Tac. *a.* 4.74.2.

[14] Tac. *a.* 4.23 *in urbe*.

[15] Suet. *Vit.* 3.1.

[16] See Gordon 1952, 320 no. 48.

[17] Tac. *a.* 15.72.

[18] Dio *epit.* 69.7.4: Hadrian placed statues both for many dead and many still alive in the Forum (εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν)—we have no means of knowing which. However, since by the time of Dio the Forum of Trajan was the usual place for erecting statues, he probably had this location in mind—if indeed the *epitome* correctly echoes Dio or does not abbreviate his expression.

of Antoninus Pius, it became customary to set up honorary statues in the Forum of Trajan, and since we have no express evidence for statues in the Forum of Augustus from Hadrianic times onwards[19] we may infer with a degree of confidence that the practice of setting up statues there ceased and the bigger, newer and now probably more prestigious Forum of Trajan became the substitute.[20] It is conceivable that one of the reasons for Trajan's allotting room in his Forum for statues of deserving persons was the overcrowding of the Forum of Augustus.

Once we realise that the Forum of Augustus was not the only, and perhaps not even the principal, venue for erecting honorific statues between the times of Tiberius and those of Trajan, we do not have to give much weight to general statements about emperors putting up 'many' statues, quite apart from the questionable credibility of such notices.[21] Likewise the statement of Pliny the Younger (*ep.* 2.7.1) concerning many men who received triumphal statues though they had never seen a battle is very general and difficult to bring into line with the policies of any particular ruler. But in any case only an explicit statement that a statue was erected in the Forum of Augustus or a good reason for such an inference will be discussed below. This of course does not imply agreement with the view that the four persons known to have been awarded with statues by Trajan (see below) were in fact the only ones to have been so honoured.[22]

We have seen in such cases as Tiberius' friend Lucilius Longus and Vestricius Spurinna's son Cottius under Nerva, about whose status we know nothing, that the Emperor's favour was sufficient reason for earning a statue in the Forum of Augustus. Thus it will come as no surprise that men of equestrian standing—though, admittedly, as far as we know only those at the very top of that ladder—would be thus honoured. We

[19] I do not know of any evidence for the assertion of Vermeule 1977, 55 that 'commemorations in the Forum of Augustus lasted at least until the time of Diocletian'.

[20] See Gordon 1952, p. 325 no. 68 (though the evidence, which comes from *SHA Marc.* 22.7, is suspicious, one would assume that even that author correctly reflects the place); p. 326, nos. 71, 73, 74, and, for much later times, p. 327 nos. 83, 86, and p. 329 nos. 92, 93, 95, 96.

[21] Tiberius is said to have honoured many men with public funerals and statues: Dio 57.21.3; cf. also 58.4.8; Claudius granted many the *ornamenta triumphalia*, and seems to have been also generous with statues, see Dio 60.23.2–3, and probably jealous about maintaining the Senate's (in practice his) monopoly: Dio 60.25.2–3, cf. Gordon 1952, 261; for Nero see Tac. *a.* 13.53.1; Suet. *Nero* 15.2.

[22] See Eck 1984, 135.

know this expressly of Tigellinus, Nero's *praefectus praetorio*,[23] and one may add that Seianus was honoured with statues (see above) while still *praefectus praetorio.* Thus there is no good reason to reject the consensus of the commentators that Juv. 1.128–30, *forum*... | *atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere* | *nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches*, indeed refers to Ti. Iulius Alexander, who attained both peaks of the equestrian career, *praefectus Aegypti* and *praefectus praetorio* (see also below). For what it is worth, one may add the general notice about Nero bestowing triumphal honours on equestrians,[24] though, as we have seen, this does not necessarily imply the granting of statues, let alone specifically in the Forum of Augustus.

It seems reasonable to assume that after Augustus the division between the two sides of the Forum continued as before. Though we have firm evidence for only two members of the Imperial House, one finds it hard to believe that persons belonging to the ruling family were not to be added to the Gallery in the Forum at every conceivable opportunity. To honour relatives of the Princeps with statues in the *Forum Augustum* where so many men of less exalted connexions were represented must have been taken for granted. In fact, one instance from a time very soon after the death of Augustus should suffice in providing evidence for additions of bronze statues of the Imperial family to the Forum.

Even without any express information it would be almost cogent to assume that Germanicus' statue was erected in the Forum either by Caligula or by Claudius—if not even earlier by that *simulator ac dissimulator* Tiberius. In fact the evidence for such an act is as it were explicit. Generally, it should be noted that the *s.c. de Cn. Pisone patre* 83 prescribes the elision of the name of Piso from the inscription of the statue of Germanicus in the Campus Martius, thus attesting to a high degree of sensitivity on the part of the Princeps and Senate of his statues and their inscriptions. But, more expressly, the *Tabula Siarensis* orders the erection of triumphal statues of Germanicus at public expense in those public places in which Augustus had placed statues of Drusus Germanicus.[25] Since we have seen that Drusus' statue was placed by Augustus in his Forum,[26]

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[23] Tac. *a.* 15.72.

[24] Suet. *Nero* 15.2: *triumphalia ornamenta etiam quaestoriae dignitatis et nonnullis ex equestri ordine tribuit nec utique de causa militari.*

[25] *Tab. Siar.* Frg (b), col. II, ll. 7–10 (Crawford 1996, 517); unfortunately, Nicolet 1995 in his discussion is not specific about the location of the statues.

[26] *CIL* VI.8.3 40330, and see discussion in the preceding chapter.

there can be no doubt that a triumphal statue in the Forum would have been one of Germanicus' 'innumerable'[27] statues.

It would be otiose to speculate how sweeping this distinction was, though one would guess that Emperors would be eager that their family at least keep up with the other, 'civilian', side of the Forum. It also appears that the custom continued after the Julio-Claudian house was replaced by the Flavians. Though we have no evidence on which side of the Forum the statue of T. Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian (see below), was erected, one feels that placing him on the side of the *summi viri* would amount to admitting to the inferiority of the Flavians as against the Julio-Claudians. Thus it will not be unduly rash to maintain that members of the family of the Princeps received their statues on the side of the Iulii, in all probability down until the construction of the Forum of Trajan. At any rate, no inferences should be drawn from the paucity and randomness of our evidence for the position of statues of the Imperial House in the *Forum Augustum*.

Another question may be raised here. As we have seen, women also figured among the ancestors of the Iulii in the Forum. Both the well-attested abundance of statues of women of the Imperial house[28] and in particular their appearance on the coinage of the time make the assumption of their presence in the Forum fairly well-founded. Again, lacking express evidence, we may assume at the very least that those ladies of the Imperial house whose worldwide fame was assured by their portraits on coins would also be celebrated in the city together with the male members of their family. Moreover, we possess firm evidence for such statues in the *Forum Traianum*,[29] and there is no reason to assume that Trajan would be an innovator in this issue. On the other hand, it should be noted that no evidence has been found for such honours for ladies who were not connected with the Imperial dynasty.[30] Even

[27] Tac. *a.* 2.83: *statuarum locorumve in quis coleretur haud facile quis numerum inierit.*

[28] For Livia's portraits and statues for women see above, ch. 4 nn. 206–9; see also Bartman 1999; Severy 2003, 233; more generally see Flory 1993; Wood 1999; Trimble 2000, 51.

[29] Packer 1997, 426 (cf. also 71) adduces evidence for a 'Livia' (see Fittschen–Zanker no. 39, Pl. 40) and 'a complete, if battered Agrippina Minor' (Cat. no. 191; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, no. 5, Pl. 6).

[30] Gordon 1952, 305. I am very much in doubt whether honours accorded the royal couple Ptolemy and Cleopatra, viz. *regi togam et tunicam purpuream cum sella eburnea, reginae pallam pictam cum amiculo purpureo* (Livy 27.4.10), should be taken as circumstantial evidence for bestowing quasi-triumphal honours on women under the Republic and whether anything may be learned from this about the Empire.

though female statues were possibly placed also alongside the *summi viri* by Augustus, both his directives and policies connected with the Imperial House would render the addition of female bronze statues virtually impossible.

If Augustus when presenting his Forum to the public had encountered some difficulty equating the length of the Julian Gallery to that of the *summi viri*, one may assume with some confidence that his successors did their best to make up for any such deficiency. In any event, as we have seen, putting up statues in the *Forum Augustum* seems to have ceased by the time of Hadrian.

As for the location and arrangement of the statues, we seem to be on fairly solid ground. Whatever the number of *summi viri* positioned under Augustus, it is safe to suggest that the later addition of bronze statues proceeded one by one (or in small groups) as various persons were judged worthy of the distinction, and each new statue was in its turn added at the end of the row. Conceivably some small exceptions to this rule would occur if posthumous honours were decided on at a later date, though no such case is known to us. The general rule appears to be confirmed by the venue *in foro Augusto ante statuam* | *Cn*(*aei*) *Senti Saturnini triumpha* | [*l*]*em*,[31] almost certainly referring to the last and most recent addition in the row. It is only reasonable to assume that for practical purposes an easily located spot was chosen: convenience, rather than sentiment or history, must have been decisive. It goes without saying that there would be no hebdomadic arrangement for these statues.

As for the appearance of the bronze statues, there is no doubt that the statue of Lucilius Longus, and that of young Cottius, if indeed it was placed in the Forum, were not triumphal ones, so there is no need to argue from the express statement that the statues of Sentius Saturninus and Volusius Saturninus were triumphal (see below) that not all statues were such. As for the statue of Ti. Iulius Alexander, opinions—that is, guesses—differ.[32] It is important to note that also bronze statues were painted,[33] so that the clear visual distinction between those in triumphal toga and other statues was maintained.[34]

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[31] Camodeca 1999, no. 13 p. 66, and see discussion above, ch. 5.

[32] Juvenal clearly speaks of a triumphal statue. Turner 1954, 63 thought that he was awarded the *ornamenta triumphalia* in the Judaean triumph of 71, Burr 1955, 81–2 writes rather incoherently of a triumphal statue and *ornamenta praetoria* or *consularia*.

[33] See Born 2004, and cf. Wünsche 2004.

[34] For the history of the Forum after Augustus see Anderson 1984, 97–9; generally on the statues La Rocca 1995, 84.

The following persons are attested (or can be inferred with reasonable confidence) as having had bronze statues in the *Forum Augustum* after the time of Augustus:

I *On the 'Julian' side*

Germanicus (19).[35] *itaque place-* | | [*re uti statuae—Germa*]*nici Caesaris cum veste triumpha-* | | [*li sumptu plebis urbanae ponerentur*] *i*[*n*] *ar<e>is publicis, in quibus divus Aug-* | | [*ustus et—statuas Drusi G*]*ẹṛ*(*manici*) *posuissent, cum inscriptione plebis urbanae* (*Tab. Siar*. Frg. (b), col. II, ll. 7–10 (Crawford 1996, 517), and cf. above, ch. 5 for the statue of Drusus in the *Forum Augustum*. Only the fairly recent discovery of the inscription positively attests to the inclusion of a hero of the Imperial family among the statues added after Augustus also in the *Forum Augustum*, although of course the great number of statues of Germanicus has been long known.[36]

T. Flavius Sabinus, **the brother of Vespasian** (after 19/20 Dec. 69).
. . . | [*leg. divi Clau*]*di pro pr. provin*[*c. Moe*]- | [*siae cur. census*] *Gallici, praef. urbi*[| *iterum. Huic*] *senatus auctór*[*e*] | [*imp. Caes. Vesp*]*asiáno fratre* | [*clupeum po*]*suit vádimon*[*is*] | [*honoris cau*]*sá dilatis,* [*fu*]- | [*nus censorium*] *censuit, sta*[*tuam*] | [*in foro divi*] *Augusti* [*ponen*]- | [*dam decrevit.*] (*CIL* VI 31293 = *ILS* 984; see additions in *CIL* VI.8.2 p. 4341.) The inscription, found in the *Forum Romanum*, attests to a public funeral (*censorium funus*; the supplement seems to be safe) and expressly mentions a statue in the Forum of Augustus. Since there is no room for a triumph in his well-attested career,[37] we may take this as evidence that even after Augustus this was not a prerequisite for inclusion on the 'Julian' side of the Forum. It may be repeated here that undoubtedly Vespasian erected the statue of his brother on the 'Julian' side of the Forum rather than with the *summi viri*.

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35 This and the following numerals refer to dates CE.
36 Cf. Tac. *a.* 2.83 quoted above, n. 27.
37 See *PIR*[2] F352.

II *On the side of the* summi viri

Lucilius Longus cos. 7 (23). *quamquam novo homini censorium funus, effigiem apud forum Augusti publica pecunia patres decrevere* (Tac. *a.* 4.15.1–2).[38] We are provided with a good example for the fact that the award of a statue in the *Forum Augustum* entirely depended on the Emperor's fancy.

Lucilius Longus was a close friend of Tiberius and this must have been the reason why the Senate granted the *homo novus* a public funeral in 23 and a statue in the *Forum Augustum*. Though he attained to the consulate, his career[39] does not leave room for triumphal *ornamenta*—and Tacitus, who emphasises the closeness of his friendship with the Emperor, would not miss an opportunity to mention them. Whatever Augustus' original intentions, his successors—even Tiberius, who expressly declared his aspiration to follow in his footsteps[40]—were of course free to interpret his counsel at their own convenience. The addition (after *censorium*) that the honours were to be *publica pecunia* is pleonastic.

Cn. Sentius Saturninus cos. 41 (44–8).[41] *Vadimonium factum* | *Truphoní Potamonis f*(*ilio*) *Alex*(*andrino*) | *in X* [...]*l k*(*alendas*) *Apriles primas Romae* | *in foro Augusto ante statuam* | *Cn*(*aei*) *Senti Saturnini triumpha* | [*l*]*em hora quinta; HS MMM* (leaving 8s) | {*dari*} *fide rogavit C*(*aius*) *Sulpicius* | [*Cinnamu*]*s fide promisit* | [*Trupho Potamonis f*(*ilius*) *Alex*(*andrinus*)] (no. 13); cf. no. 14 ll. 4–7 (pp. 66–7):...*Romae* [*i*]*n foro* | *Augusto ante statuam* | *Cn*(*aei*) *Sentí Saturniní* | *triumphalem hora tertia*...; no. 27 ll. 14–15, pp. 88–92: *in foro Aug*(*usto*) *ante statuam Cn*(*aei*) | *Senti Saturnini* [*t*]*riumphalem* (Camodeca 1999, nos. 13 p. 66, 14 pp. 66–7, 27 pp. 88–92). As we have seen, it is likely that the convenience of meeting at the last statue in the row, the one most recently added, determined the choice of this particular location.

Cos. ord. 41 (Gordon no. 12), he received the statue in 44 for his role in the previous year's British campaign (Eutrop. 7.13.2). The homonymous consul of 19 BCE (Gordon no. 9) was a great favourite

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[38] See discussion above. He is absent from Gordon's list—perhaps because he did not regard this statue as honorific.

[39] *PIR*[2] L389.

[40] Tac. *a.* 4.37: *qui omnia facta dictaque eius vice legis observem.*

[41] On the man and the events see Black 2000. The triumphal statue must have been erected shortly after the British campaign in 44, since the one safely dated transaction in front of the statue is in 48. See discussion above, ch. 5.

of Augustus and Tiberius' right-hand man in the German campaigns, and earned *ornamenta triumphalia* in 6 CE.[42] If after the opening of the Forum Augustus himself added bronze statues on the lines he advised his successors, this man would have been a highly likely candidate for inclusion.

L. Volusius Saturninus cos. suff. 3 (after 56).[43]
[*L*(*ucio Volusio L*(*ucii*) *f*(*ilio*) *Q*(*uinti*) *n*(*epoti*) *Sa*]*turnino co*(*n*)*s*(*uli*); | [*aug*(*ur*), *sodalis Augustal*]*is, sodalis Titi, proco*(*n*)*s*(*ule*) *Asiae* | [*legatus divi Aug*(*usti*) *leg. Ti*(*berii*) *Caesa*]*ris Aug*(*usti*) *pro praetore iṇ provinciis*] | [*... et Dalmatia,* | *pra*]*efectus Urbis fui*]*t.* [*annos XVI?, in quo*] | [*honore cum nonagesimum tertium*] *annum agens, ḍẹc̣*[*essisset, senatus,* | [*auctore Caesare Aug*(*usto*) *German*]*ịc̣ọ, funere pubḷịc̣ọ* [*eum efferri*] | [*censuit, item vadimoniis exse*]*quịạrum* [*eiu*]*s causa dilatis item statuas ei* | [*pone*]*ṇḍas tr*[*ium*] *fales in foro Augusti* [*a*]*eneam, in templo novo diṿ*[*i Au*]*gu<s>ti,* | [*m*]*ạṛṃoreas ḍ*[*uas c̣onsulares, unam in templo div*[*i*] *Iuli, alteram iṇ* | *Palatio intra tripy*[*lum, tertiam i*]*ṇ aria* [*Apoḷ*[*inis*] *iṇ conspectum c̣*[*uriae*], | *ạụg*[*ural*]*ẹm, in Re*[*gia, equestrem pr*]*oxime Rostra, sella curuli residentem ạṭ* | *theatrum Pompe*[*ianum in portic*]*u Lentulorum.* (*AE* 1972, 174, with correction of l. 3 Reynolds 1971, 142–4, where also facsimile; another fragment of the inscription was found in the area of the *Forum Romanum: CIL* VI.8.3 41075a, and see bibliography there; text here according to Panciera 1982, 83–7).[44] The extensive fragmentary inscription found, with those of his son and of his grandson, at the family villa at Lucus Feroniae in 1968 is an *elogium* of the suffect consul of 3 CE, who died highly respected by all in 56 in his ninety-third year while he was *praefectus urbi*[45] and adds valuable information to what was known about him. We should accept the restoration according to which he had earned his triumphal ornaments in Dalmatia, which he governed *c.* 34–40, when well into his seventies. On top of the *funus publicum* with a vacation of the courts, he was granted not less than nine statues, an unequalled tribute as far as is known.[46] These were, in the order of the inscription, three triumphal statues, of which one of bronze was to stand in the *Forum Augustum*, and two marble ones in the

[42] Dio 55.28.6.
[43] Cf. Anderson 1984, 92.
[44] For some speculation concerning the career of Volusius Saturninus see Boatwright 1982.
[45] See Tac. *a.* 13.20.2.
[46] See discussion in Eck 1972, 468–73; see also Stewart 2003, 81.

templum novum of the Deified Augustus; three consular statues, one in the temple of Divus Iulius, one *in Palatio intra tripylum*, a third *in aria Apolinis in conspectum curiae*; a *statua auguralis in Regia*, an equestrian statue *proxime rostra* and one seated on a *sella curulis* close to Pompey's theatre.

One wonders to what extent the statues are listed in the exact order of precedence. Clearly the triumphal ones are superior to the consular ones, and the bronze one,[47] which is mentioned first, must have had precedence over the others. However, an equestrian statue seems a quite extraordinary honour, so that possibly the three assorted statues listed at the end may be out of sequence of distinction. Even so the high honour of a statue in the *Forum Augustum* is well emphasised.

There is no need to enter here into all the problems connected with this inscription; what is important for our purposes is the proposal to abandon the supplement *triumphalibus ornamentis* in l. 4, as it is a conclusion from the triumphal statues only.[48] However, it appears from Gordon's survey that the triumphal ornaments were a much more frequently bestowed distinction than a statue in the Forum, so that it may be prudent to leave the triumphal ornaments to the recipient of nine statues.[49]

Cocceius Nerva and **Tigellinus** and **Petronius Turpilianus** (65). *Tum quasi gesta bello expositurus vocat senatum et triumphale decus Petronio Turpiliano consulari, Cocceio Nervae praetori designato, Tigellino praefecti praetorio tribuit, Tigellinum et Nervam ita extollens ut super triumphalis in foro imagines apud Palatium quoque effigies eorum sisteret* (Tac. *a*. 15.72). My reading of this passage is that the first two differed from Petronius Turpilianus only in that they were also given statues on the Palatine, while all three were

[47] Incidentally, a confirmation, if such was needed, for the distinction between Augustan marble and post-Augustan bronze statues.

[48] Eck 1972, 465; see also his observation at 467 on the discrepancy between the name in the dative and the offices in the nominative.

[49] This is the place to draw attention to a red herring that for some time indeed succeeded with confusing me. Lugli, *Fontes ad topographiam* p. 25, no. 151 quotes an inscription from Lucus Feroniae, said to have been communicated to him by the excavator M. Marotti, thus: [*L. aut Q. Volusio*] *Saturnino cos*[—] (*vir ignotus*) *statuas ei* [*duas vel tres*] *triumphales in foro Augusti*… (*dedicavit vel posuit*). He attributes it to one of the grandsons of our honorand, either L., *cos*. 87 with Domitian XIII, or Q., *cos*. 92 with Domitian XVI. The publication of such an inscription will be sought in vain; in fact this is part of the inscription quoted and discussed in the text. Apart from other problems one wonders what precedents stood before Lugli when ascribing to a man more than one triumphal statue in the Forum of Augustus, moreover statues that were set up by private initiative. I am grateful to Werner Eck for help with this point.

awarded *ornamenta triumphalia* and statues in the Forum (here obviously *Augustum*). These honours following upon the discovery of the Pisonian conspiracy are a good instance of the generalisation of Suet. *Nero* 15.2, *triumphalia ornamenta etiam quaestoriae dignitatis et nonnullis ex equestri ordine tribuit nec utique de causa militari*, though of course it is not known how many of these also received statues in the *Forum Augustum*; for the hope of military men for triumphal honours under Nero see Tac. *a.* 13.53.1.

Ti. Julius Alexander (71?)[50] ...*deinde forum, iurisque peritus Apollo | atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere | nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches* (Juvenal 1.128–30). All the commentators seem to agree that the reference is to Ti. Iulius Alexander, a man of Jewish descent and a nephew of Philo of Alexandria.[51] He was procurator of Judaea, later to ascend to the prefecture of Egypt and to the office of *praefectus praetorio*,[52] the very summits of an equestrian career. Tacitus (*a.* 15.28) labels him *inlustris eques Romanus* and refers to his Egyptian background in connexion with his prefecture of Egypt (*hist.* 1.11.1); the facts on Alexander's Jewish background and apostasy are supplied by Josephus (*AJ* 20.100). Among the three ethnic groups detested and ridiculed by the satirist, Greeks, Jews and Egyptians, presumably Juvenal chose the most offensive alternative, not necessarily the most 'accurate' one.[53] We have seen above that the *praefectus praetorio* Tigellinus had been thus honoured so there is no good reason to reject this holder of the office.[54] Gordon, 1952, 305ff seems to have been over-cautious in not including him in the list of recipients of triumphal *ornamenta*.

Vestricius Spurinna (?), cos. I ?, II 98, III 100; and his son **Cottius** (?) (96–8). *here a senatu Vestricio Spurinnae principe auctore triumphalis statua decreta est...filio eius, Cottio, quem amisit absens, habitus est honor statuae...Etenim si defunctorum imagines domi positae dolorem nostrum levant, quanto magis hae*

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[50] Nothing is known of his career after the Jewish war; since it is best to assume that the award was in his lifetime, it is perhaps sensible to bring it in connexion with the Judaean triumph.

[51] See Turner 1954; Burr 1955; Brunt 1975, 143.

[52] As against the doubts of Burr, 1955, 67ff. see Turner, 1954, 61–4; Brunt, 1975, 143.

[53] On the problems of his identity and self-presentation see Geiger 2002, 235–6; I will not deal with the still unsolved questions of the exact position of the Arabarch and whether there was a separate, Jewish, office of Alabarch; see Rostovtzeff and Welles 1931, 49–51.

[54] I retract what I have written at Geiger 2002, 244 n. 19.

quibus in celeberrimo loco non modo species et vultus illorum, sed honor etiam et gloria refertur! (Plin. *ep*. 2.7.1, 3, 7). The statues are vouched for, their location is not.[55] Vestricius Spurinna (*PIR* V308) was granted this honour for real services in the field unlike many (*non ita ut multis*) who never saw a battle. Granted the rhetorical exaggeration, this is a welcome testimony that illustrates how little does our random evidence reflect the realities. Sherwin-White 153 deduces that this letter was written under Nerva from the fact that Spurinna is not mentioned among the consulars to whom Trajan granted statues according to Dio 68.15.3, 16.2 (see above). However, there is no need to assume that the four consulars mentioned by Dio were the only ones thus honoured by him, not to mention the fact that book 68 of Dio is preserved only in an epitome. It is best to leave the date open between Nerva and Trajan. It was little consolation for the death of his son Cottius that the youth was also granted a statue, a rare distinction for a young man (§ 3). The location of the statue was in *celeberrimo loco* (§ 7). Since one will wish to assume that the two statues were erected next to each other, the combination of a triumphal statue for the father and most distinguished location for the son would best agree with the Forum of Augustus.

Cornelius Palma cos. 99, 109 (106–7?). [—] | *potes*[—] | *senatus supplicationes dis immortalib*(*us*), [*ipsi aut*]*em, a*[*u*]*c*[*tore*] | *Imp. Caes. Nerva Traiano Aug. Germ*(*anico*) *Dacic*(*o*), *senatus ornament*(*a*) | *triumphal*(*ia*) *decr* (*evit*) *statuamque in foro Aug* (*usto*) *ponendam censui*t (*CIL* VI 1386 = *ILS* 1023).[56] Dio 68.15.3 tells us that Licinius Sura was granted a public funeral and a statue, and at 68.16.2 (quoted in the next item) that also Sosius (Senecio), Palma and Celsus got statues. No further details are furnished, but one must remember that this is an epitome. The key is our inscription to an anonymous honorand, who was granted by the

[55] See Sherwin-White ad loc. for the argument that the Emperor in question was Nerva. I take it that the statues were put up together, though the passage refers expressly only to the son's being *in celeberrimo loco*; Sherwin-White ad loc. 156 opines that 'presumably one of the imperial *Fora* is meant', in which case this would in all probability be the *Forum Augustum*. On the other hand, we have seen that other places in the city may have been perhaps no less prestigious—and in fact one may regard this as an argument that the statues (of which the son's was earned only by his untimely death) were positioned in the Forum.

[56] Cf. Lugli, *Fontes* 152; La Rocca 1995, 84; it is not known where this marmor base was found. The attribution of the inscription to Palma was first made by Borghesi, but appears to be unchallenged. One imagines that the *ornamenta triumphalia* and the erection of the statue followed hard upon the annexation of Arabia in 106.

Senate *ornamenta triumphalia* and a statue in the Forum of Augustus. Trajan is here already Dacicus but not yet Optimus, so the inscription dates between 103 and 114; already Borghesi referred this to Palma, who as governor of Syria reduced Arabia to a province in 106. If this is correct, as seems to be almost[57] universally accepted,[58] the inference about all three (I do not include Licinius Sura, for we have no indication for the location of his statue) is fairly safe.[59] One imagines that the *ornamenta triumphalia* and the erection of the statue followed close upon the annexation of Arabia.

Sosius Senecio *cos.* 99, 107 and between 106 and 113? (99–107?) and **Publilius Celsus** *cos.* 102, 113. Ἔστησε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σοσσίου τοῦ τε Πάλμου καὶ τοῦ Κέλσου εἰκόνας (Dio *epit.* 68.16.2). This, together with the inference that the inscription in the previous item belongs to Palma, makes it probable that these two men also had their statues in the *Forum Augustum*. If we had an eyewitness account by Dio, it would be easy to conjecture that the three statues were placed together. One imagines that Trajan would have set up a statue to his favourite Sosius Senecio perhaps already in his first, but certainly not later than his second, consulship. Dating the statue of Celsus to the suffect consulship of 102 seems too early; some time after the beginning of the Dacian war, in which he participated, and before the honour of the ordinary consulship of 113 is most likely. If all three statues were put up together, 107 would seem the most probable date.

C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus (?) (107)[60] [*C. Iul*]*ịo C.f.* +[– c. 2– *Quadrato Basso*] | [*co*(*n*)]*s*(*uli*), *pont*[*if* (*ici*), *l* [*eg*(*ato*) *pr*(*o*) *pr*(*aetore*) *et comiti*] | [*sacr*]*atissiṃ*[*i imp*(*eratoris*) *Traiani Aug*(*usti*), *leg*(*ato*) *Aug*(*usti*) *pr*(*o*) *pr*(*aetore*)] | [*prov*(*inciae*) *Iu*]*ḍaeae*, *ḷ*[*eg* (*ato*) *leg* (*ionis*) *XI Claud*(*iae*), *trib*(*uno*) *mil*(*itum*) *leg*(*ionis*) *XIII Gem*(*inae*)], | [*III vir* (*o*) *a* (*uro*) *a*(*rgento*) *a*(*ere*) *f* (*lando*) *f* (*eriundo*)], *q*[*uaestori prov*(*inciae*) *Cretae et Cyrenarum*] | [*aed*(*ili*) *pleb*(*is*) *cand*(*idato*) *imperat*]*oris A*[*ug*(*usti*), *praet*(*ori*) *cand*(*idato*)]. | [*Huic, auctore imp*(*eratore*) *Traiano Aug* (*usto*), *t*]*riumph*[*alia ornamenta*] | [*ob res in Dacia bene gestas*] *senatus de*[*crevit*

[57] But doubted by W. Eck in *DNP* III 195 s.v. Cornelius Palma Frontonianus.

[58] See Alföldy in *CIL* VI.8.3 p. 4690 with ample bibliography.

[59] I do not quite understand why Scheithauer 2000, 164; 245 thinks that these statues were erected in the *Forum Traianum*.

[60] For his career see *RE Suppl.* 7 (1940) 311–12 s.v. no. 425a (Groag); *PIR*² J 508; Halfmann, 1986, 248–9.

et statuam] | [*equestrem in rostris?*, *altera*]*m pedestrem* [*in foro Divi Aug*(*usti*)?] | [*pecunia publica ponendas censuit*]. (Gregori 2003.) Though the phrase in this inscription about the statue in the *Forum Augustum* is a supplement,[61] it seems a fairly credible one; another inscription where such a supplement has been proposed is *CIL* III 14387 d + w (Baalbek):

> d:]*bm*[|]*r prov*[|]*praet i*[|]*leg III G*[*all* |]*propr pr*[|]*o inter o*[|]*Nerva Traiano*[| *e*]*od imp Parth*[*ico bello?* | *donis militarib do*[*nato* | *Tr*]*aiani Aug Germ Da*[*cici prov* | *item leg propr eiu*[*s provinciae* | *Syriae* |]]*suit*
> w:]*ell*[|]*nc///*[|]*sav*[(]).[62]

Premerstein's supplement for the last three lines of d reads:

> *c*]*ensuit Maximo principe Imp Caes Nerva* | *Traiano Aug Germ Dacico Parthico auctore* | *statuam in foro Aug pecun publ ponendam*?

On the other hand, I do not copy the long and important inscription from Pergamum *AE* 1933, 268, where *triumphalia ornamenta* are mentioned but no statue in the Forum. The award may have been somewhat earlier than the date proposed here.

As stated, the evidence collected here pertains only to those who are securely or with great probability attested as having their statues in the *Forum Augustum*. Gordon 1952 lists fifty-six recipients of 'triumphal honors and statues, and other official honorary statues' in Rome down to the reign of Nerva: no doubt a portion of those who were awarded statues with unspecified locations were honoured in the *Forum Augustum*. Nevertheless, a dozen or so notices of recipients of bronze statues in the *Forum Augustum* for those not connected with the ruling house allow for some reflexions. They are more or less equally divided between Trajan's rule and the preceding emperors—and, accounting for the double uncertainty of date and location concerning Vestricius Spurinna and his son Cottius, one may add Nerva to Trajan. The cases earlier than Nerva are recorded in (1) an obituary by Tacitus, (2) a wax-tablet recording a 'middle-class' business transaction (not a very common find in Italy), (3) an extensive inscription from outside Rome honouring a highly successful member of the aristocracy, (4) a notice in Tacitus of

[61] And not a safe one, see Gregori 2003, 212: 'In conclusione, "fuisse videtur", vel potius: "fuit fortasse".'

[62] For a revised and supplemented text with discussion see Premerstein 1934, 53–69.

the not at all reputable glorification by Nero of men connected with the exposure of the Pisonian conspiracy, and (5) the abusive censure by a satirist of an extremely atypical honorand. What does all this add up to? If anything, it seems to me that the random evidence and what is surely the emphasis on the unusual all hint at the not too low frequency and regularity of the distinction. On the other hand, the half-a-dozen or so recipients from the reign of Trajan (and perhaps of Nerva) may well be very close to the original number and represent all, or almost all, honours offered at the time: they are attested in the best contemporary source (Pliny the Younger) and in the one continuous narrative of Trajan's and Nerva's reign (Dio), while the one piece of pertinent epigraphic evidence does not indicate an additional person but seems to belong to one of the men mentioned in this latter source. If Trajan did not deviate much from the practice of his predecessors, the honours during his reign may reflect to some extent the rate of their bestowal during the preceding century or so. Such a pace would then account for the cessation of new honours in the now presumably packed *Forum Augustum* and the extension of the series (under whatever rules) to the new Forum of Trajan.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE IMPACT OF THE GALLERY OF HEROES

While a great deal of attention has been devoted to the Forum of Augustus, there has been no corresponding attempt to estimate its actual impression, the success of the Princeps' scheme. Nor is the reason far to seek. As with other questions involving the reaction to the mainly upper-class actions and utterances of different sorts that make up the great majority of our written evidence about Antiquity, it is indeed extremely difficult to estimate the impact of the *Forum Augustum*, the realisation of the Princeps' educational intention, on the public consciousness of the inhabitants of Rome.[1] As so often, we are at a loss when attempting to assess the mood of any but those who were members of the upper classes. Nevertheless, a general consideration is in order. In an important study perhaps less noticed by non-archaeologists than it deserves, it has been established most convincingly that the Augustan era invented new methods for the mass manufacture of

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[1] A good indicator of the difficulty is Elsner 1995, 167–72: in his discussion of the reaction of the viewer to the Augustus from Prima Porta, all we hear is what the viewer would have seen and how he would have reacted. Beard and Henderson 2001, 170 assign their own reactions to the imaginary Roman viewer: 'No matter how breathtaking, a monument on this scale could never have avoided accusations of bombast and aggressive hyperbole.... Far graver ironies are raised by the train of Roman heroes in the colonnades...', also quoted, not with disapproval, by Davis 2006 24–5; cf. also above, ch. 5 n. 177. The rather ambitious booklet of Hölscher 1984 also admits (8) that since we do not have explicit sources as to viewer reaction we must deduce it from other indications, viz., we are back at the (divined) intentions of the commissioners (or artists) of the monuments. His argument (10–12; see also 21, repeated at Hölscher 1994, 140–3) that since the *summi viri* of the Forum were representatives of the great families of the nobility these were also the intended spectators of the statues seems to me to run counter not only to some evidence presented below, but also to plain common sense. By the same logic the nobility would be the intended audience of all aristocratic displays, from funeral processions to speeches. Likewise Clarke 2003, 19–28 does not succeed in discussing his avowed theme, 'The Ara Pacis Augustae and the Ordinary Viewer', but instead treats us to 'What an ordinary viewer would have noticed' (24). More in a vein of scholarly restraint is a writer who has devoted most of his energies to the *Ehrenstatuen*: Sehlmeyer 2000, 271 concedes that we know little about their notice by the Roman public. An excellent analysis of Roman political response to statues is that of Gregory 1994; unfortunately, he has nothing to say about the Forum of Augustus.

portrait statues, thus producing some 25,000–50,000 sculptural portraits of the Princeps alone.[2] Such a production line must have been aimed at the widest segments of the population in all parts of the Empire, and these were expected to appreciate what they saw. The very considerable effort invested must have been commensurate with the hopes for the success of the endeavour.

It appears that an express assertion of such a policy can be detected in an utterance of Augustus' closest friend and collaborator. Agrippa did not only contribute much to the public display of works of art in Rome, but also delivered a speech divulging his opinion that these should be displayed in public rather than hidden away in the houses of the wealthy.[3] One wonders whether this was a genuinely felt opinion, commendable and modern even by present-day taste, or a popular measure designed to endear him to the Roman plebs. In the former case it may be seen as an undertaking meant to educate—and given the practical character of Agrippa, hardly one that he would expect to be met with serious resistance. In the latter case, which perhaps may be the less likely one, we would learn an overlooked fact about the already existing cultural attitudes of the Roman masses. Although it goes without saying that the main purpose of the display of statuary in the *Forum Augustum* was not artistic, it seems nevertheless that the sentiment aired by Agrippa was well in line with Augustus' intentions.

We shall be concerned here with the impact of Augustus' Gallery of Heroes rather than with that of the entire complex of which it formed part.[4] One direct viewer reaction for which we have evidence is, as one would expect, an elite utterance, and one very close in time to the open-

[2] Pfanner 1989.

[3] Plin. *nh* 35.26:… *M. Agrippa, vir rusticitati propior quam deliciis. Exstat certe eius oratio magnifica et maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis, quod fieri satius fuisset quam in villarum exilia pelli.*

[4] The suggestions of Blanckenhagen 1954 and of Frazer 1993 as to the influence of the form and dimensions of the Forum of Augustus on the *Templum Pacis, Forum Transitorium* and Forum of Trajan relate to the general plan rather than to the feature that is our main concern here. Scheithauer 2000, 63 n. 312 adduces three sources relating to a statue of Augustus, assuming that this was a statue in his Forum. Mart. 8.44.7 *colosson Augusti* is taken by Friedlaender ad loc. to refer rather to Domitian's colossal equestrian statue (Stat. *s.* 1.1); Suet. *Tib.* 53.2 says that Tiberius accused Agrippina of wanting to take refuge at a statue of Augustus (*ad statuam Augusti*)—but this statue must remain unspecified, especially since eventually nothing of the sort occurred at any statue; lastly, in Suet. *Nero* 12.3 there is no hint as to which statue of Augustus Nero wished to have the *cithara* granted him by the judges be taken.

ing of the Forum. Ovid's description, put into the mouth of Mars,[5] must reflect, to some extent at least, the response of the poet himself. In fact, it is of some interest that, when Ovid recalls the Forum from distant Tomi, it is the Temple of Mars with the statues of Venus, Mars and Vulcan that is imprinted on his mind.[6] I believe it is also telling that in the description in the *Fasti* both the Iulii and the *summi viri* are referred to as groups only, and the large central sculptural assemblages of Aeneas and Romulus are the only ones that are singled out specifically. This is the impression most viewers would get, the collection and the very numbers of the great men of the Republic being a more impressive statement than the characteristics or achievements of any particular individual. One may not be wide off the mark in supposing that with this perspective the main intention of the Princeps was achieved: the sum total, the long procession of the men who had made the Republic great, must have seemed to him more important than its constituents. No doubt this was the likely impact on most viewers except the most learned and erudite ones, since most observers' grasp of detail could only encompass the entire programme—a state of affairs certainly not different from that pertaining to, say, the crowds contemplating the windows of Chartres cathedal or Breughel's 'Proverbs'. That publicly displayed works of art were not self-evidently understood by the Roman crowd is well expressed in the story of L. Hostilius Mancinus, who felt it necessary to explain to the people the painting detailing his exploits in the Third Punic War.[7]

The kind of impression left on the viewer must have been intentional. It has been suggested[8] that the Martial (of Mars, and indeed martial) view of the Forum of Augustus should be contrasted with the very different impression left on the same observer by the adjacent *Forum Iulium*.[9] Of course, the differences in the contents and intentions of the two Ovidian poems should be given due consideration, but even so one can see that the Forum of Augustus was conveniently used for business transactions (see below), but would hardly be a suitable place for

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[5] Ov. *f.* 5.551–69.

[6] Ov. *tr.* 2.295–6: *Venerit in magni templum, tua munera, Martis,* | *Stat Venus Ultori iuncta, vir ante fores*.

[7] Plin. *nh* 35.23, and cf. the discussion on learning history from works of art and inscriptions in Horsfall 2003, 90–2 and list already in Horsfall 1996, 118.

[8] Zanker 1997, 184–6. A similar interpretation is to be found in Hölscher 2006a, 42.

[9] Ov. *a.a.* 1. 79–88. The attempt by Westall 1996 to make the *Forum Iulium* into the representation par excellence of the victorious general carries little conviction.

amorous assignations, as seems to have been the *Forum Iulium* according to Ovid. Thus the great innovation of Augustus, a gallery of men from the military sphere (with the addition of some who excelled in statemanship, but nevertheless have also been military men), has achieved its aim and impressed its stamp upon the entire assemblage.

It is certainly not by chance that about a century later another poet also sees the sculpture groups of Romulus and Aeneas as the main features of the Forum—for surely it is to these rather than to their individual statues that Statius must be alluding.[10] Perhaps these sculptural sets were, together with the Temple of Mars Ultor and the *quadriga*, the items most vividly remembered by casual visitors, such as some, at least, of Statius' intended audience. They may also have been the objects to which guides routinely drew attention. The prominence of the Romulus and Aeneas groups seems to be borne out also by their repetitions, as will be seen in the following discussion.

Notwithstanding the dearth of explicit viewer utterances, there are a variety of items that can provide us with some hints of the reception of the Gallery of Heroes. It has been observed[11] that descriptions such as that of the raven on the helmet of Corvus[12] and comparable appurtenances on other statues,[13] though recorded for us by elite writers, may reflect popular consciousness, and were perhaps again the points of reference of tour-guides.[14] We are on somewhat safer ground with the evidence of the Pompeian wax tablets. Here locations familiar to both sides are specified for the transaction of business: the statue of Gracchus in the Forum, at the fourth column near the steps,[15] and the triumphal statue of Cn. Sentius Saturninus. This last is of special interest in the present context, since we know that the said business appointments were made a relatively short time after the erection of the statue in 44 CE, following upon the British campaign.[16] The common

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[10] Stat. *s.* 5.2.107–9: *Haud umquam tales aspexit Romulus annos* | *Dardaniusque senex medii bellare togata* | *Strage fori.*

[11] See above, ch. 4.

[12] Gell. 9.11.10; cf. Dion. Hal. 15.1.4.

[13] E.g. the *obsidionalis* of Aemilianus (Plin. *nh* 22.13), perhaps the *Romana moenia* of Horatius Cocles (Manil. 1.781).

[14] For tour-guides see Jones 2001.

[15] Camodeca 1999, no. 19 (p. 72), and see above ch. 5 for a discussion of the exact location.

[16] Ibid. nos. 13, 14, 27; only the last of these is fully dated, to 48, still at most four years after the erection of the statue.

acquaintance in the world of business of the 'middle classes' with a recently set up triumphal statue indicates also some basic information at least of the deeds meriting the award.[17] It has been conjectured that this most recently erected statue was the last in the row and thus perhaps particularly convenient to identify as a place of assignation; on the other hand it should also be pointed out that the statue is described by the name of the honorand and its character rather than merely by its location, so some attention must have been paid to its appearance and inscriptions, though one should not deny the possibility that in general statues were habitually referred to by their names and thus there was no need to inspect the inscription. Juvenal's mention of a statue of an *Aegyptius atque Arabarches* (1.130), referring to Ti. Iulius Alexander,[18] can also be taken as an indication of popular awareness of at least some recent additions to the Forum. More importantly, if the generally accepted ascription of the statue is indeed correct, it follows that the public was not only conscious of this piece of sculpture but must also have been aware of its deviating from the expected norm for great men, which thus must have been widely recognised.

As always, we are more often than not reduced to guesswork as to the impact of the acts of the rulers or the ruling classes on the awareness, moods and reactions of the ruled. Education (even if labelled propaganda) by means of visual symbols is no exception. Given that we are correct as to Augustus' intentions, how are we to assess his success? One argument could point to the difference between Augustus' intended public and the politically active and literate upper classes. That the aristocracy were inspired to *virtus* by the *imagines* of the ancestors is vouchsafed, e.g., by Sallust (*Iug.* 4.5) on no lesser authority than that of Q. Fabius Maximus and Scipio Aemilianus, the sons of Aemilius Paulus. This, of course, was in the private sphere and the ancestors of these great men had not been made into subjects of literary works of recognised standing. For Cicero (*fam.* 5.12.7) Xenophon's *Agesilaus* was more certain to ensure the fame of the king than any number of statues (which he refused to have).[19]

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[17] For the latest on the man and the events see Black 2000, and above, ch. 6.

[18] See discussion above, ch. 6.

[19] For Agesilaus' deathbed refusal of pictures and statues see Cic. *fam.* 5.12.7; Plut. *Ages.* 2.4; *apophth.reg.* 191D Ages. 12; *apophth.Lac.* 215A Ages. 78; Favor. [Dio Chr.] 37.43; Apul. *apol.* 15.1.

We should not doubt the truth of this argument for Cicero and his class. Could we not learn from it by way of contrast about those who had not read, or could not read, Xenophon either because they were semiliterate or illiterate or because they were so in Greek, or simply because they did not belong to the leisured classes? Could this question not be extended also to Roman writers and generals?[20] Indeed, Horace says that it is the renown broadcast by the poets rather than the inscriptions that guarantee fame and afterlife to *boni duces.*[21] Presumably chief among these inscriptions were the *elogia* accompanying their statues, and indeed it often has been thought that Horace is specifically alluding to the Forum of Augustus, presumably in an advanced stage of planning at the time he was writing. Nevertheless, the poet could have intended his words only for his own reading public. The sentiment attributed to Cato the Elder by Plutarch (*Cato ma.* 19.4–6) that it is in the heart of his fellow citizens rather than in statues that one has to seek a lasting image is patently contrasted with what he evidently took to have been the prevailing attitude.

To be sure, some positive indications can be found as to what people may have learned from inscriptions on statues, and analogous impressions may be assumed for those of the *Forum Augustum*. In the view of the erudite Asconius[22] the inscription of the Marcelli, grandfather, father and son III MARCELLI NOVIES CONSULES was designed to mislead the *imperitiores* in regard to the achievements of the father without having recourse to an outright lie: it was these that would be unaware of the fact that the part of the middle Marcellus in these multiple honours was a single consulate. Were these *imperitiores* who had to learn about the consulates of the Marcelli from their inscription the likes of the unfortunate Metellus Scipio, whose ignorance of his family history has been captured for eternity by Cicero (*Att.* 6.1.17), or were they rather the common, though literate (or literate enough to decipher a very short and very simple inscription, thus perhaps especially designed for them), people of Rome? Both the apparently scandalous exception of Metellus Scipio's ignorance and the design of

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[20] It might seem otiose to repeat once more that exactly such a situation may have been the *raison d'être* of Nepos' *de viris illustribus*.

[21] Hor. *c.* 4.8.13–14: *non incisa notis marmora publicis | per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis | post mortem ducibus*...but the fame proclaimed by the poets.

[22] Asc. *in Pis.* 44 (12C).

the inscription of the Marcelli seem to point to the latter alternative. Indeed, it may have been demeaning to the senatorial class to imagine that any of its members might not be aware of the three consulates of their contemporary, or of the exceptional achievement of five consulates of his most illustrious grandfather—after all, keeping records of one's own *dignitas* must have gone hand in hand with doing so for that of potential rivals and allies. Similarly, Caesar's setting up statues of Marius inscribed with his Cimbrian victories,[23] though obviously a political demonstration directed at the political classes, may perhaps also have been meant to instruct the ignorant (but still not illiterate or uninterested) that there was more to Marius than the atrocities of his last year, no doubt well publicised by the optimate elite.[24]

Not much can be learned from the abuse of statues[25] or the applause accorded to them,[26] the crowning of Caesar's statues[27] or the many instances recorded of destructions and re-erections of statues, starting in the age of Pompey and Caesar and becoming commonplace, and in the event official or semi-official, under the Principate.[28] Other reactions seem to have been comparatively more subtle. The graffiti appearing on the statue of L. Brutus in exhortation of his latter-day namesake and notional descendant[29] attest to a public not only involved in politics, but also one that has some knowledge of the past, possibly gleaned in

[23] Plut. *Caes.* 6.

[24] Hölscher 1984, 11ff. makes a clear distinction between monuments directed at the knowledgeable few (like coin types displaying allusions to obscure historical or mythological events) and such artefacts as paintings carried in triumphs, intended for the wider public. I doubt his basic assumption, namely that a work of art is effective only with those who can grasp all its implications (can indeed anybody?), and at any rate I think that the discussion here shows that it would be wrong to include statues in this first category.

[25] For the abuse of statues see Cic. *II Verr.* 2.158ff.; *Pis.* 93; Juv. 10.58ff.

[26] Cic. *Phil.* 1.36.

[27] Plut. *Ant.* 12.6, *Caes.* 61.7–8; Suet. *Iul.* 79.1; App. *bc* 2.108; Dio 44.9.2–3.

[28] See Plut. *Cato min.* 43.7 for the attack on Pompey's statues, and for their re-erection Plut. *Caes.* 57.6, *Cic.* 40.4–5, *de capienda* 91a; Suet. *Iul.* 75.4; Dio 43.49.1–2; cf. App. *bc* 2.86; overthrow of Caesar's statues: App *bc.* 3.3. I do not collect here the many instances of changing the heads of statues, demolitions and melting down of statues of Emperors, soldiers' attitudes to Imperial statues, nor the adorning of statues with flowers and crowns; on the entire subject see Stewart 2003, esp. 267–83, strongly influenced by Freedberg 1989; Flower 2006 is concerned with institutional, rather than private, attacks on the carriers of memory.

[29] Plut. *Brut.* 9.6; App. *bc* 2.112.

part from statues, and definitely reacting to such statues.[30] Certainly the writers of such graffiti (and, given for instance what we know of the walls of Pompeii, but also modern practice, they must have been far more widespread than our random notices may lead us to believe) viewed statues not as mere ornaments, or perhaps not as ornaments or works of art at all, but as historical and political statements. Again, we are talking about Romans who were not in a position to approach Brutus or his like directly (thus perhaps not even his clients), but whose interest in politics, acquaintance with history and literacy do not allow us to identify them as an ignorant, illiterate plebs.[31] One wonders whether such an event as the anecdote told of Mark Antony by a contemporary source,[32] according to which the Athenians greeted him as Dionysus after he had inscribed the name of the god on his statues (but imitated him also in other ways), could not have taken place in Rome, too. And certainly the crowd would have its own opinion of who was, or was not, sufficiently distinguished for visual representation. One would dearly like to know whether the famous Tacitean adage on the masks of Brutus and Cassius, conspicuous by their absence,[33] truly represents the impression of the crowd at Iunia's funeral or whether it is only a sarcastic expression of the historian writing almost a century later, and whether the scorn of the satirist for the statue of an *Aegyptius atque Arabarches* in the Forum[34] reflects the impressions of the plebs or is rather an outlet for an author who made indignation the hallmark of his writing.[35]

Such then are the pitifully sparse details pertaining to the reactions of the common people of Rome to statues (unfortunately almost none of them directly relating to those in the *Forum Augustum*) which suggest that the hustle and bustle of the Forum did not prevent them from keeping their eyes open and taking in, and reacting to, the historical and political setting.

On the contrary, there is hardly need to speculate on the impact of the Forum on the political classes. Augustus' Hall of Fame regulated and

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[30] See also Suet. *Iul.* 80.3; Dio 61.16.2a; Suet. *Nero* 45.2 for graffiti on statues; one hardly feels pressed to add testimonies such as *SHA Tac.* 16.1–3.

[31] Cf. also Hor. *sat.* 1.6.15ff.: . . . *populo, qui stultus honores | saepe dat indignis et famae servit ineptus, | qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus.*

[32] Sen. *suas.* 1.6.

[33] Tac. *a.* 3.76.

[34] Juv. 1.128–30, discussed above, ch. 6; not in Lahusen 1984.

[35] Juv. 1.79 *facit indignatio versum.*

standardised some of the most deeply engrained values of the nobility and established a well-ordained framework for what had always been their guiding ambitions. No Augustus was needed to inspire the desire of the nobles to return victorious from a campaign and thus increase their personal and family prestige. However, ever since the triumph of Balbus in 19 BCE, aristocrats who did not belong to the family of the Princeps were deprived of the full honours of a triumph and had to make do with the *ornamenta triumphalia* instead, given entirely at the discretion of the Princeps.[36] Yet the erection of a bronze statue for these conquerors in the Forum of Augustus may have compensated in the long run for the forfeiture of the unequalled, but basically momentary, grandeur of the triumph. And there was one more aspect, perhaps hitherto not sufficiently noticed. The Gallery of Heroes captured in stone the history of the Republic, which was seen as the history of the scions of the great houses of the nobility and of their virtues and achievements. These were not only, as we have seen and has been emphasised so often, juxtaposed with the glorious Julian House; eventually there also emerged a third group created by the express design of the first Princeps. The bronze statues of the more recent winners of triumphal ornaments became the most tangible expression of the new Augustan aristocracy.[37] This was I believe the chief reason for visually setting off the new group of bronze statues as against the old marble ones in as clear a manner (if not an even more emphatic one) as the *summi viri* had been opposed to the Iulii. There can be little doubt that it was the wish of Augustus not only to set the future standards for the highest honours in the state, but also to demonstrate in an unambiguous manner the achievements of the Republic and its great men since its Restoration. The Hall of Fame presented not only the Princeps' criteria for what was required from the great men serving the state, but was also a most impressive visual display of the accomplishments of men who lived up to the expectations of the Princeps. Moreover, it has been argued (above, ch. 6) that for recipients of bronze statues under the Empire the division between the Imperial family and

[36] That this new state of affairs was immediately publicised and recognised by all and sundry is shown by the arrangement of the *Fasti Capitolini* on the Parthian Arch, where Balbus' triumph is carefully allocated the bottom of the plaque, not leaving room for future triumphs, see Wallace-Hadrill 1987, 224.

[37] Given the focus of the author on written, literary and epigraphic, evidence, it is hardly surprising that this aspect is missing from Syme 1986, 79, and cf. also 88–91.

commoners remained valid. One may presume that a visual display of the disproportionately high achievements of the Julio-Claudian House (and subsequently their successors) was thus presented at a venue and at a level of sophistication that made it accessible to virtually all the inhabitants and visitors of the City.

It appears that we may indeed possess striking evidence for the impression that the inscriptions of the *summi viri* and Augustus' arrangements made on the political class. A leading authority on Roman epigraphy has maintained that the structure of the prominently displayed inscriptions in the Forum of Augustus was to change completely the conventional formulae of Roman inscriptions: while hitherto inscriptions for the living did as a rule refer only to the honorand's latest, and under the circumstances relevant, office, and only inscriptions for the dead would contain their full *cursus*, from now on the honorands of the *Forum Augustum*, and in their wake all office-holders, would receive full *cursus*-inscriptions in their lifetime.[38] The importance of this change goes well beyond the profit derived from it by modern epigraphers. It was no longer a single action, however well-deserving and honourable, that was presented to the people (once again, a people that not only gazed at statues, but also read the inscriptions on their bases), but a public persona in the full display of his career and achievements. The Roman aristocracy must have viewed the Forum of Augustus in a manner that was by no means superficial or distant; even those who did not gain a triumphal statue or could not even set their hopes at the outstanding honour of one nevertheless composed their inscription in a manner recalling those of the *Forum Augustum*.

What exactly did the fashion of imitating the inscriptions of the Forum of Augustus amount to, insofar as viewers' reaction is concerned? As with all fashions, we may postulate direct influence only among the first imitators, the first generation, as it were. These would have seen, and read, the *tituli* (and with them no doubt the *elogia*), and would wish to imitate these most prestigious inscriptions on their own monuments. As for later imitators, there is no knowing how many of them were aware of the ultimate model for the design of their inscriptions. Be this as it may, it can be said with some confidence that the impression

[38] Eck 1984, 149, repeated at Eck 1999, 44–5 and, with slight reservations, Eck 2005, 56.

on elite viewers of the 'first generation' must have been exceptionally powerful.

But let us return for a moment to the more traditional approach of listening to the surviving evidence of a member of those classes to which we are, often for loss of an alternative, accustomed to turn our attention. It is quite instructive to compare Manilius' Gallery of Heroes in the first book of his astronomical poem with the literature we discussed as possible antecedents of or influences on Augustus' Forum,[39] since this is the first such list to postdate—if not by many years[40]—Augustus' Gallery. It is no more possible to prove the direct impact of the *Forum Augustum* on Manilius than it was to demonstrate the influence of Virgil on Augustus' choice of heroes. As distinct from proof—a highly scarce commodity in the study of Antiquity—probability here is surely very great. While it is conceivable that Augustus' acquaintance with the *Aeneis* only reminded him of some of the figures whose inclusion in his Hall of Fame appeared to him as a foregone conclusion (and if the idea had been formed by him earlier, under the influence of Varro, Atticus or Nepos or perhaps quite independently), it is hardly imaginable that Manilius, living and writing in Rome and bent on complimenting the Princeps (or flattering him, as some will no doubt insist) could have disregarded one of the greatest and most impressive monuments presented by him to the City. When describing those who deserved well of their country and were to ascend to the Milky Way and to Life Eternal, he was obviously recalling Scipio's Dream at the conclusion of Cicero's *Republic*; when composing the actual list of heroes, it would have been foolhardy, even impudent, to disregard Augustus' Hall of Fame. It seems to me that at least at one particular point Manilius supplies evidence for the actual arrangement of statues in the Forum. I have already indicated my belief that his words (1.778) *Tarquinioque minus reges* should be interpreted as evidence for the traditional inventory of the statues of the Roman Kings, taken over from the Capitol, in the Forum.[41]

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[39] Landolfi 1990, 87–9 adduces literary parallels for the Roman heroes, though the Forum of Augustus looks to me a more likely source of inspiration; I do not think there is anything to be gained from discussing the motif of *Heldenschau* in book 6 of Lucan; as for Silius Italicus, it has been suggested (above, ch. 4) that the insertion of a group of seven women in his parade may have been influenced by the presence of female statues in the *Forum Augustum*.

[40] Manilius wrote towards the end of the reign of Augustus and in the first years of Tiberius (*OCD*^{3} s.v.).

[41] Cf. above, ch. 5.

I think that this is much preferable to a contrary interpretation, taking Manilius' words as criticism of the inclusion of Tarquinius Superbus in the statuary display of the Forum, though of course even in such a case the evidence for the impression of the Forum would still be valid. At any rate, I think it unimaginable that the number of the statues of the kings was not seven, and Manilius' not mentioning this fact can by no means be construed against the hypothesis of the hebdomadic arrangement of part of the Gallery of Heroes, at least.

Manilius' list is threefold: first (1.762–70) the Trojan heroes[42] and other mythological figures such as the Amazon (Penthesilea), then (771–6) the wise men of Greece, Solon, Lycurgus, Plato and Socrates, concluding with the conqueror of the Persian fleet, Themistocles. It seems that in length and extent these two groups serve only as an introduction to the really important list that follows. The Romans (777–99) consist exclusively of the martial heroes who contributed to the expansion and the grandeur of the city and her empire, or who saved her in her various predicaments, and thus as a group certainly fulfil Augustus' criteria for inclusion in his Forum. They include—after the kings (minus Tarquinius Superbus) and before we arrive at the pinnacle of Roman history with the Iulii and Augustus—the Horatii, Mucius Scaevola, Cloelia, Horatius Cocles, Corvinus, Camillus, Brutus, Papirius Cursor, Fabricius and Curius, Marcellus and Cossus of the *spolia opima*, the Decii, Fabius Cunctator, Livius the conqueror of Hasdrubal and his colleague Nero, the Scipios, Pompey, Cicero, the Claudii, Aemilii, Metelli, Cato the Younger and Agrippa. The list, compared with the catalogues of Augustan authors we have discussed and with what we know about the Forum of Augustus, is almost self-evident, with perhaps only two names in need of explanation. Does the appearance of Cicero and of Cato attest to their statues being included in the Forum, or should this be taken as criticism on the part of Manilius? We simply cannot know for sure. The two cases may well be different. Augustus' appreciative pronouncement on Cicero to one of his grandsons[43] seems to attest the late reconciliation of the Princeps with the memory of the would-be mentor of his early days and the victim of the proscriptions; on the other hand, his *rescripta Bruto de Catone*[44] may well indicate an

[42] Not all are named by Manilius explicitly, though also those alluded to by their characteristics or deeds only are easy to identify.

[43] Plut. *Cic*. 49.5.

[44] Suet. *Aug*. 85.1.

entirely different attitude, and all we know of the fame of Cato under the Principate seems to militate against the idea that his statue was exhibited in the Forum.[45] So, perhaps criticism of exclusion. Another person whose appearance is perhaps in need of explanation is Agrippa. It has been suggested that he was given a place among the Iulii and their relations in the Forum.[46] The other members of the list are either positively attested as being represented by statues in the Forum, or such that hardly need justification to be added to Augustus' selection.[47]

But of manifest importance for the perception and reception of the Augustan Forum is the archaeological evidence. This, though of course rather random, is often also quite explicit. Copies, full or partial, of Augustus' Hall of Fame, or even allusions to it, attest not only to the influence it exercised on the commissioners and planners and others involved in the erection of such monuments, but again at second hand on their viewers. We may survey these briefly in the natural order of Rome, Italy and the provinces.

The influence of the Gallery of Heroes in the Forum of Augustus seems to have been prominent in what eventually came to replace it as the largest civic centre in the city, the Forum of Trajan.[48] It was built on a design that recalls, on an even grander scale, that of the Augustan Forum, and included such notable innovations as the Basilica Ulpia placed crosswise between the Forum and the Temple as well as the Column commemorating the victory over the Dacians. However, we are sadly ill-informed as to its sculptural decoration.[49] Nevertheless, there exist two interesting items of evidence. One, the Forum contained exedrae fitted with niches, including larger central ones, recalling the Augustan arrangement: these, according to one interpretation, included marble statues of the 'good' Emperors and members of their families.[50] What else, if at all, the exedrae may have contained is not known. Moreover, the highly important recent discovery that the *Forum*

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[45] See discussion in Geiger 2002, 97–8, and cf. Geiger 2005, 240.

[46] See above, ch. 5.

[47] Apart from Cicero and Cato the Younger there appear in Manilius the following who are neither positively attested nor conjectured as belonging in the Forum: the Horatii, Mucius Scaevola, Cloelia, Horatius Cocles, Brutus, the Decii, and 'Livius the conqueror of Hasdrubal', though his colleague Claudius Nero may be the subject of one of the *elogia*, see ch. 5; for Curius (Dentatus) see ch. 5 on Fabricius.

[48] See the exhaustive publication of Packer 1997; Zanker 1970.

[49] For a discussion of the Caryatids and tondi, the ornamental sculpture elements imitating the *Forum Augustum*, see Leon 204–6.

[50] Zanker 1970, 517–29; doubted by Packer 1997, 105.

Augustum contained two pairs of hemicycles rather than one makes the dependence of the Forum of Trajan with its two pairs of hemicycles on it even more striking. It is difficult to believe that it was possible to take over such a central architectural feature from an adjacent monument without adopting the contents for which it has been conceived and erected. The other piece of information comes from Cassius Dio (68.16), according to whom Trajan erected in the *Forum Augustum* statues of the men he esteemed above others, Sosius Senecio, Cornelius Palma and Publilius Celsus (cf. above, ch. 6). No doubt these were bronze statues, like all those erected after the time of Augustus. Once Trajan's own Forum was complete, it is only reasonable to assume that here, too, he erected statues of those deserving of such a distinction. If so, were they to stand in the exedra opposite the Imperial side in unmistakable emulation of the Augustan composition, or were they somehow arranged differently? Perhaps it is not only our desire for clear lines of development and historical continuity that tips the scales for the Augustan option. The overall attitude of the Optimus Princeps to the founder of the Principate[51] seems to be a legitimate consideration.

The contemplation and study of the Hall of Fame of the *Forum Augustum* was not to remain the privilege of the residents of Rome, highly placed or lowly, and of visitors to the seat of Empire.[52] One of the innovations of the Augustan Age was the resolute attempt to make the inhabitants of Italy and of the provinces full participants in the awareness of the exciting developments of the New Dispensation.[53] Chief among these was the Empire-wide[54] copying and exhibition, and in the East translation, of the Achievements of the Divine Augustus. Recently the discovery of the numerous copies of the *s.c. de Cn. Pisone patre* in Spain, together with the earlier discoveries of the *Tabula Hebana* in Etruria and the *Tabula Siarensis* in Spain (no doubt chance finds from among many more lost copies) as well as the other fragments of 'a *lex* in honour of Germanicus and the decree of the senate which prededed it; and of a *lex* for Drusus Caesar and the decree of the senate that preceded it' has taught us the intent of the regime, only a few years

[51] E.g. most recently Bennett 1997, 51; 56; 102; 131; 144; 148; 209.

[52] For influences in general see also Stewart 2003, 158–9.

[53] See Macmullan 2000.

[54] Cf. Macmullan 2000, 69 with the 'slightly condensed' quotation from Veyne. The extensive first chapter of Ridley 2003 fails to say anything about the diffusion of copies; cf. also his 'Summation' at 229.

after the death of the first Princeps, to make the entire Empire aware of the proper understanding and interpretation of recent historical events of central importance and of decisions made in the capital.[55] Obviously in all these cases one must assume a far greater diffusion of provincial copies than can be strictly maintained by our chance survivals. Like the monopolisation of the Roman coinage referred to above (ch. 4), these two sets of actions are clear examples of the newly found determination, and ability, of the regime to spread its message well beyond the Pomerium. In fact, it has appeared to a second-century observer that colonies were but smaller copies of the Roman People,[56] their similarity no doubt evident also in the visual imitation of the capital. For our investigation it will be expedient to survey the physical remnants of the simulation of the Forum in Italy and the provinces before addressing the question whether these derivative monuments were the product of local or central initiative. It should be stressed, though, that not all influences of the *Forum Augustum* that can be detected pertain directly to the Gallery of Heroes. It appears that copying some features of the Augustan Forum and of the Temple of Mars Ultor was fairly widespread already under Augustus, a very short time after the completion of these projects. Obviously copying the entire Gallery of Heroes, or even part of it, was an expensive and in all probability time-consuming business few municipalities or colonies could afford. Possibly in most locations an allusion to the general plan rather than the reproduction of its details was deemed sufficient. But even such simpler, less expensive, and hence indeed more wide-spread motifs as the diffusion of Caryatids—not to mention again more sophisticated reminiscences such as the supporting Dacians of the Forum of Trajan that came to fill the role of the Caryatids. Juppiter Amon and Medusa-head shields also attest an acquaintance with some central monuments of the Forum and may be classified as their partial citations. On the other hand statues and inscriptions recalling the Gallery of Heroes tend

[55] For the copious bibliography on the *s.c. de Cn. Pisone patre* see conveniently the special issue of *AJP* 120.1 (1999), though of course the document continues to engage scholars; for the decrees in honour of Germanicus and of Drusus see e.g. Ehrenberg-Jones 94a, 94b, and with full discussion and bibliography Crawford 1996, 507–47; the quotation is from p. 512; see ibid. 27–34 generally on the diffusion of statutes and NB ibid. 28: 'It may be that in dealing with the inscribed copies of Roman statutes we are dealing with the tip of an iceberg of entirely unknown shape', though this is followed by some reservations.

[56] Gell. 16.13.9: *istae coloniae quasi effigies parvae simulacraque* (viz., *populi Romani*).

to be later, often Claudian. It seems that the far greater expenditure, and relatively high-quality artisan- and craftsmanship, needed for such projects got under way as a rule with Imperial help, if not directly by Imperial initiative. Yet at least as far as the Gallery of Heroes is concerned it may be repeated (cf. above, ch. 4) that it was meant to impress more by the overall collection and the total than by its details: imitations and allusions pertaining to that totality will have accounted for the success of its main goal.

Be this as it may, given the randomness and partialness of the finds it will be best to review them briefly in their entirety.[57] Best known, and thus only to be cursorily mentioned, are the Italian finds. The *elogia* of Arretium were copied from the Augustan Forum, while the statues in Lavinium appear to have been inscribed with names only, as may have been the case with those at Vesontio.[58] Also remarkable are female statues in galleries representing the Imperial family in the Augustan Age in places like Lucus Feroniae or Buthrotum.[59] Clearly, the general arrangement and meaning of the Gallery of Heroes in the Forum of Augustus must have been well publicised and recognised in the various parts of Italy.

The Edifice of Eumachia, the largest building adjoining the Forum of Pompeii, has four niches for statues on its front facing the Forum. Two of these contained copies of the Aeneas group and of Romulus with the *spolia opima* from the Forum of Augustus, as can be learned from the existing *elogia*.[60] What sculptures the other two niches exhibited, and whether the reproduction of the sculptural programme of the Forum of Augustus went beyond these four niches, must remain a matter of speculation.[61] It has been shown that the House of Eumachia was built as early as 3 CE,[62] so that these sculptures, if contemporaneous with the building, were erected only four years or so after their models in Rome. Pictorial copies of the two central sculptural groups of the Forum

[57] Cf. Ando 2000, 303–13.
[58] *InscrIt.* XIII.3 p. 7, where see also the discussion of the remains from Carthage.
[59] Trimble 2000, 55; 62.
[60] *InscrIt.* XIII.3 85, 86. I have argued (ch. 5) that there was also a statue of Romulus among the seven kings of Rome; though conceivably the *elogium* may also have been copied from that statue, the pictorial representation of Romulus with the *spolia opima* in Pompeii points to this being the figure at the Forum as well.
[61] La Rocca, de Vos and de Vos 1994, 123.
[62] Moeller 1975.

attest to their reception in Pompeii.[63] These reproductions are the more remarkable as they were ordered by a private citizen of much less then elevated standing and thus testify to the wide acquaintance with, and appreciation of, the sculptural programme of the *Forum Augustum*. Even more impressive is a caricature of the Aeneas group from Stabiae or Pompeii (now in Naples):[64] obviously a caricature's appeal is confined to a public appreciative of the reference. Evidently these quotations from the Forum of Augustus were commonplace for inhabitants of Pompeii, there for all to enjoy, though in fairness it should be admitted that we cannot be quite sure that allusions to the statues of the *summi viri* would have been as much valued as those to the two most famous central sculptural groups, those that also caught the attention of our first observer, Ovid.

Outside Italy we are best informed about the Hispanic provinces, where all three provincial capitals displayed some features derived from the Augustan Forum in Rome. In Tarraco there reappear in a Claudian context the *clipei* with the familiar images of Juppiter Ammon and Medusa.[65] Much more impressive, and relevant to our quest, are the finds from Corduba. Here sculptural fragments can be closely connected with Roman statuary. A cuirassed torso of 1.9 m height has been variously interpreted as that of Romulus carrying the *spolia opima* or of Aeneas escaping from Troy—in either case one of the central pieces of sculpture from the exedrae of the *Forum Augustum*. Fragments of eleven larger than life-size *togati*, again of Claudian times and of high quality, have been thought by diverse scholars to represent members of the Imperial family or to be copies of the *summi viri* of the Augustan Forum.[66] By far the most impressive are the finds from Augusta Emerita,

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[63] For what follows cf. Zanker 1968, 17. He adduces (nn. 83, 84) more parallels, inter alia the many appearances of the Aeneas group on sarcophagi; since it seems impossible to establish how many of these, if any, are to be ascribed to direct influence, they are better left out of the discussion here. Admittedly, on a sceptical view one might regard some of these as possible copies of the sculptures of the House of Eumachia rather than as direct copies from the Roman models. The pictures were first published in Della Corte 1913, 144–5 and are most conveniently accessible in e.g. Zanker 1990, 202 and Barchiesi 2005, 286–87.

[64] Maiuri 1950; see also the interpretation of Kellum 1996, 176–8, repeated verbatim at Kellum 1997, 174–7. The painting dates from before the earthquake.

[65] Panzram 2002, 104–5 with earlier literature.

[66] Panzram 2002, 134–5 with earlier literature. Note López 1996 for a female statue, and cf. above, ch. 4.

the capital of Lusitania.[67] Again, *clipei* and Caryatids are modelled on those of the Augustan Forum. Again, larger than life-size *togati* seem to be copies of the *summi viri* from Rome. Some figures may be more specifically identified as copies from the Forum of Augustus. One portrait adorned with a royal diadem must belong to a king of Alba Longa or of Rome; the statue with the inscription AGRIPPA is most probably a copy from a statue of that person in the *Forum Augustum*;[68] a youth now identified as Ascanius seems to have belonged to a copy of the Aeneas group, together with a bearded Aeneas. The base, as well as parts of the inscription of the group, has been found too. All these high-quality sculptures can be dated as Claudian. It has been conjectured[69] that Claudius was responsible for the arrangement of the Forum that would do justice to his ambition to match the achievements of Augustus.

To these important finds some isolated instances may be added. The Mars Ultor group or parts of it[70] were copied on a relief of the Ara Pietatis Augustae dedicated in 43 by Claudius and now in the Villa Medici.[71] The fora of a number of sites on the Adriatic display copies of Juppiter Amon and Medusa heads from the *Forum Augustum*.[72] A variety of quotations are apparent in Aventicum (Avenches)[73] and other locations in Switzerland, France and Germany,[74] as well as Mauretania,[75] and there are some hints from cities in the East.[76] Imitation of monumental Augustan works in small bronzes from a variety of provinces also testifies to the spread of the influence.[77] Portraits of

[67] Panzram 2002, 225–9 with earlier literature.

[68] Panzram 2002, 248–9 and cf. above, ch. 5.

[69] Panzram 2002, 246; see already Trillmich 1990; Trillmich 1994.

[70] Siebler 1988, 120–39 discusses the question of a cult-statue group and arrives at a negative conclusion.

[71] Bloch 1939, 96–104; see Zanker 1968, 14. Both the relief in the museum in Algiers and the relief of Tellus in the Louvre are certainly from Carthage, see Zanker 1968, 19; see also Siebler 1988 with the fullest account of the copies of the Augustan Mars Ultor.

[72] Budischovsky 1973.

[73] Bögli 1984, 17; Schwarz 1964, 77ff.; Verzàr 1977, Inv. p. 14 no. 21; p. 15 nos. 23–5; 34–46.

[74] See Verzàr 1997 for evidence from Arles (pls. 23,3 and 24), Vienne (pl. 25.1) and Geneva (pl. 25.2).

[75] Pensabene 1982, 70 summarises his finds of Iol-Caesarea by stating that at the time of Juba II the models for the capitals and other decorative elements were taken from the Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Mars Ultor.

[76] Stiller 1895, 20–1; Kleiner 1970, 132–3, pls. 16–17.

[77] Boschung 2000, 128.

Livia and Octavia were displayed at places such as Glanum in the Provence.[78] Finally, scholars conclude that the sculptural display in the city gate of Perge erected by Plancia Magna, as well as possibly the city gate of Side, took its inspiration from the Forum of Augustus, as we have seen above in a different context.[79] The comparative wealth of finds from a wide variety of locations throughout the Empire suggests an almost universal diffusion of imitations and evocations of the Forum of Augustus. Unfortunately, we have no means of knowing the extent to which the diverse populations of the Empire were aware of the archetypes of the works of art admired by them, though of course this does not pertain to the initiators of the various programmes or the artists and craftsmen employed in executing them.

Were all these Italian and provincial imitations the result of local initiative or can we detect some central design, or at least some Imperial response to local initiatives? We have seen that the copies in Pompeii were certainly made on private initiative. On the other hand, a veteran investigator of the Hispanic sites believes that the excellent quality of the ornaments, and especially of the statues at Merida, points to some Imperial programme of 'Kulturhilfe'.[80] Here too it is perhaps best to assume a combination of local initiative and Imperial response,[81] and thus a variety of situations in the different circumstances of the various cities under the very dissimilar rulers.

From the archaeological finds one may move on to some literary examples. Though Plutarch in his extant work never mentions the Forum of Augustus (he may well have done so in the lost biography of the Princeps or perhaps in that of one of his successors), it may be worthwhile to look for its influence, direct or indirect, on his work.[82] We may trace such an influence in a rather roundabout way. It has often been noticed that Plutarch's earlier biographical series, the *Lives of the Caesars* from Augustus to Vitellius, of which those of Galba and Otho are extant, are of a decidedly lower standard than the later *Parallel Lives*. Though experience of course would play its part, one wonders whether the rather short interval between the writing of the *Caesars*

[78] Bartman 1999, 78–80.
[79] See above (ch. 4), and cf. Stewart 2003, 162–3 and Boatwright 1993, 204; 198.
[80] Trillmich 1993, 50.
[81] On the lines envisaged by Millar 1977.
[82] For what follows cf. Geiger 2005.

under Nerva[83] and the probable commencement of the *Parallel Lives* in 99, the consulate of the dedicatee Sosius Senecio,[84] would render such a difference a sufficient explanation. A discrepancy in literary genre is readily acknowledged, though describing the *Caesars* as history[85] is perhaps too harsh a judgment. Another consideration, apparently hitherto not taken into account, should be given some thought. The *Lives of the Caesars* belongs to a tradition of series devoted to a well-established subject matter: most often, as here, to the history of a country by means of a description of its rulers, more rarely groups exactly defined by other means.[86] Once the series was chosen, the author had to content himself with whatever personages were on offer, his sympathies and inclinations notwithstanding. Yet exactly an author of Plutarch's mentality is often seen at his best in his sympathetic reaction to the personalities he describes, and such reactions should be given fair consideration in a discussion of his choice of heroes.[87] It has been suggested[88] that Plutarch was influenced in his biographical writing by Nepos. It should now be added that Nepos' collection may well have been the only biographical series available to Plutarch that displayed such a free choice of heroes based on criteria conceived by the author himself.[89]

Few will deny that part, at least, of Plutarch's popularity, both in Antiquity and in modern times, should be ascribed to his success in his choice of subjects. Another point has gone unnoticed until recently.[90] The fact that all of Plutarch's Roman subjects belong to the times of the Republic, Mark Antony—himself a somewhat exceptional figure in the series—being the latest, should in no way be construed as self-evident and it may be repeated that there were no inherent disqualifications for such persons as Marcus Agrippa or Germanicus or even such figures as the recently deceased venerable Verginius Rufus.[91] It may say something about the success of Plutarch that his choices were, and are, accepted as patently obvious, and that nobody came to question his restricting

[83] See Geiger 1975.
[84] See Jones 1966, 70.
[85] Syme 1980, 104; for a more sympathetic evaluation see Duff 1999, 28–9.
[86] Geiger 1985a, 50.
[87] This was, perhaps regrettably, not part of the task the author set himself in Geiger 1981.
[88] Geiger 1988.
[89] There is no sign of the acquaintance of Plutarch with the writings of Varro or of Atticus, for which see above, ch. 3.
[90] Geiger 2002.
[91] Ibid.

himself to Republican heroes. In that earlier discussion the political reasons for such a self-restriction by Plutarch have been put forward: by now the Republic and its controversies had become Ancient History, irrelevant for the political situation of the day. While Republican history was now safe and without political implications for the present, writing biographies of Imperial personages, both members of the ruling family and those outside it, may well have been perceived, rightly or wrongly, as fraught with pitfalls. In Plutarch the line between Republic and Empire was firmly drawn. What is self-evident to us may still be in need of elucidation.[92] After all, Tacitus started his *Annales* with the demise of the First Princeps, to the chagrin of the historian's greatest modern commentator.[93]

Where exactly was Plutarch to draw the line? The suggestion of a walk down the alley of statues in the Forum of Augustus, with a sudden revelation emerging with the change from marble statues to bronze, may sound fanciful at first. In fairness, a second hearing may be demanded. Though the city was of course full of Augustan and later Imperial monuments, where else was the borderline between Augustan Rome and the preceding history more poignantly visualised than here? Where else could one see so clearly the boundaries of Republic and Empire?[94] Moreover, here we are concerned with an even more specific dividing line, that between Republican and Imperial heroes and their *Lives*. This divided parade of Republican and Imperial heroes may well have provided Plutarch both with the idea of Roman biographies and with some of the persons to be included in his collection—personages from the earlier, safe, part of the divide alone.[95] Of course, how many of the Romans who were in the event actually included in the *Parallel Lives* owed their appearance to the inspiration derived from the Forum cannot be guessed. But in the present context it seems to me that the likely overall influence of an idea taken from the Forum of Augustus

[92] To put it differently: had we only the *Parallel Lives* without any biographical information about Plutarch, would we not conclude from his ending his Roman Lives with Antony (a negative example at that!) that he was an Augustan author?

[93] Syme 1958, 364–74, esp. 370.

[94] Perhaps another consideration that should have been added to the discussion (Geiger 1975) of Plutarch starting his Imperial biographies with Augustus.

[95] Though Plutarch may have added such persons as the Younger Cato, Brutus and Antony, who were not represented in the Forum (see ch. 5) but belonged to the right side of the divide.

far outweighs the possible derivation of this or that figure from the Augustan parade.[96]

In addition, to return to another theme that has been briefly discussed,[97] Plutarch may well have become aware of the discrepancy between the accomplished style of realistic portraiture on the one hand and the relative literary poverty of biographical writing on the other. That he was aware of the connexion between the two is brought out forcefully in the introductions to the *Lives of Alexander and Caesar* and of *Cimon and Lucullus*: biography was to take its cue from realistic portraiture, while paying no attention to the highly stylised depictions of the rest of the body. Moreover, Plutarch may well have been aware of a challenge. The visual representation of Roman heroes must have been most impressive not only in the massive trooping of so many great men who had made the Republic great, but also in the quality of its artistic execution, no doubt amassing the best available in this heyday of realistic portraiture. As against this, a writer of Plutarch's calibre could hardly have been unaware of the fact that the literary counterparts of these portaits were in no way commensurate with the achievement of the visual arts.[98] Certainly, if we are right in assuming that Nepos' short Lives were the predecessors in biographical writing with which Plutarch was acquainted, the disparity between the different artistic modes of expression must have been glaring. Plutarch could scarcely have been less open about his taking a leaf from the book of the visual arts than he was in the introduction to *Alexander–Caesar*.[99]

It may be advisable to take these pronouncements literally rather than to understand them in a purely metaphorical vein. Possibly we do not even have to go as far as comparing the visual representation of the heroes with their literary counterparts. The *elogia* that accompanied the statues were of course only the barest of sketches of their subjects' careers. Obviously these *elogia* never aspired to recognition as works of literature—but may have given rise to the notion that such works were a *desideratum* and a worthy challenge to an accomplished writer. These considerations should in no way detract from other aspects of Plutarch's biographical writing, such as the wider cultural

[96] See also Lucian. *hist. conscr.* 51 for comparing the historian's craft with that of the sculptor.
[97] Geiger 2000.
[98] Cf. Zanker 1995, 153.
[99] Plut. *Alex.* 1.2–3, and cf. *Cimon* 2.2.

and political aims he may have set himself when composing *Parallel Lives* of Greeks and Romans. There is no necessity to assume priority of literary, cultural or political motifs, nor is there call for defining an exact instant in which an idea would take shape. What does need emphasising are the probable connexions of Plutarchan biography with portraiture, and more specifically with the realistic portrait sculptures of the *Forum Augustum*.

Once the above propositions are accepted, it is still necessary to clarify a very important distinction between Plutarch's series and the supposed source of inspiration—in greater probability *a* supposed source of inspiration—the *Forum Augustum*. We have seen (above, ch. 3) the importance of the concept of canonisation, inclusion implying exclusion. Now Plutarch's series, as stated by the author himself,[100] did not have a definite and final plan from the beginning, and he probably never finalised one even when the work progressed. Certainly Plutarch would never have even considered bringing in the entire, very large number of Republican subjects represented in the *Forum Augustum*. Even given his moralistic aims, he certainly did not set his sights on including all personages worthy of moral reflexion—not to mention the prosaic, though very real, matter of availability of source material. Nor should our discussion, centred as it is on the Roman heroes, detract from the importance of their Greek counterparts in planning the series and in its very origin. Nevertheless, the realisation that Plutarch's gallery of heroes shaped to a great extent our perception of the most important political characters of Antiquity[101] is crucial not only for an understanding and proper evaluation of Plutarch, but also for the broader aim of the present investigation, the appreciation of the primacy and influence of Augustus' parade of great Romans.

In one important aspect Plutarch differed fundamentally from the list drawn up by Augustus, an aspect that was more faithfully followed by later epigones, however inferior their literary production. Plutarch certainly never intended to draw up a closed list, a canon, of Greek and Roman heroes, even though his success very nearly brought about such a consequence. On the other hand, such lists as those of Ampelius and the *de viris illustribus*, presently to be discussed, however lowly

[100] Plut. *AemPaul* 1.1–5; cf. *Demetr.* 1.6–8.
[101] Ziegler *RE* XXI 898 (= *Plutarchos* [Stuttgart 1949], 261).

their ambitions, produced closed and finite lists of the heroes of the Roman Republic.

These two literary collections of famous Romans will be considered briefly in the present context. The date of Ampelius is far from certain, either early third century or perhaps a considerably later date.[102] It is highly remarkable that his lists of famous men consist exclusively of kings, generals and statesmen—after all, a compendium whose other sections cover cosmology, geography, *miracula mundi* and the question *quot fuere Ioves* may well have displayed an interest in persons of intellectual renown as well. The Roman chapters are embedded between those on the kings of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, *duces* and kings of Sparta and Athens and kings of Macedon before them and various other lists, including the predecessors of Mithridates from Cyrus on, the Parthian, Cappadocian and Armenian kings, the kings of Asia, of Bithynia and Pontus, Alexandria, Carthage (also *duces*), Numidia and Mauritania after them. The most remarkable feature of the Roman lists is their restriction to Republican personages; also the later chapters are almost exclusively Republican.[103] This aspect of the work is most naturally explained by reliance on Augustan sources. Among these Nepos seems to be most prominent, though Nigidius Figulus and some unidentified sources were also used. His ch. 18, *Clarissimi duces Romanorum*, mentions twenty-four persons ranging from Brutus and Valerius Publicola to Pompey, Caesar and Augustus, *post cuius consecrationem perpetua Caesarum dictatura dominatur*.[104] Many of the persons mentioned are known to have been represented in the Forum, and all could easily have been. Though it may seem strange to talk about missing persons in this wretched treatise, one may remark on the absence of Mark Antony. Next, ch. 19, *Romani qui in toga fuerunt illustres*, features thirteen persons from Menenius Agrippa

[102] Arnaud-Lindet 1993, xxi–xxiv identifies the dedicatee Macrinus with the future Emperor; Holford-Stevens 1995 (see also his entry in *OCD*^{3}) opts for a later date for reasons of the low intellectual level and language of the work; see also Arnaud-Lindet 1997; the most recent discussion (Whitmarsh 2007, 44–5) is non-committal on the date.

[103] At the end of ch. 39, *qui adversus populum Romanum arma sumserunt*, there is a lacuna after the time of the kings, and then there is an entry about Tiridates who was overcome by Corbulo; at the end of ch. 47, *usque imperium Traiani qui victi sunt et per quos duces*, there are entries on the people conquered by Augustus and by Trajan (though not by Claudius—Britain had been conquered already by Julius Caesar).

[104] Cf. also ch. 29, *status populi Romani quas commutationes habuit*, where after the civil war between Pompey and Caesar *sub unius Caesaris potestatem redacta sunt omnia. Ex eo perpetua Caesarum dictatura dominatur.*

and Ap. Claudius Caecus to Cicero; they also include the Younger Cato, listed after his illustrious ancestor, and M. Brutus, added after Brutus Callaicus. Out of chronological order, these two may have been additions from a different source. The remaining eleven may well have found a place in Augustus' Gallery[105]—of three (Ap. Claudius Caecus, Gracchus the father of the tribunes and Cato the Censor) we positively know that they were. The next chapters, collecting some well-known *exempla* of sacrifices for the Roman people, *secessiones, seditiones* and the like, are also almost entirely Republican, with only occasional references to later persons or events, such as at the end of the short list in ch. 23 of *qui pro Romanis gentes superaverunt* Caesar Germanicus and 'Caesar Dacicus' (coming directly after Metellus Creticus!).

This short treatise seems hardly worthy of serious consideration, and it would be preposterous to suggest that its author directly inspected the Forum of Augustus, using it as a 'source'. Nevertheless, I believe that the clear division between Republican and later personages reflected in it may to some degree represent a generally accepted and existing dividing line whose demarcation could have also been influenced by the visual aspect of the Forum. Even a writer such as Ampelius, if he lived in Rome, or only visited the city, may have been impressed by certain features that were then reflected in his text. By an all-embracing definition of the term, the Forum of Augustus may indeed have been a source.

Last, the brief treatise known as *de viris illustribus* (= *dvi*) erroneously ascribed to Aurelius Victor: the eighty-six short chapters consist mostly of biographies of eminent Romans starting with Proca and the kings of Rome down to Antony, though some other groups are also included (e.g. the 306 Fabii, the *decemviri*), non-Romans such as Hannibal and Antiochus III, and also women like Cloelia; the last chapter belongs to the foreign queen Cleopatra. I will not attempt here to add to the debate whether the *elogia* of the Forum were a source for the *dvi*.[106] By the standards of strict *Quellenforschung* I believe that Sage has demonstrated that the texts, or what remains of them, of the *elogia* cannot be shown to have served as a *Vorlage* for the author of the *dvi*. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the greater difficulty of

[105] Of course, we cannot be absolutely sure about the exclusion of Cicero and even the Younger Cato, cf. above, ch. 5.

[106] See Braccesi 1973; Sage 1979; Braccesi 1981; Sage 1983.

source criticism is not this latter term but rather the question of what constitutes a source. It can easily be imagined that an author could derive inspiration from a sculptural display such as the *Forum Augustum* and then seek other sources, including his earlier acquired knowledge, some of it very general indeed, for the particular texts; or, alternatively, once the decision to write a series of biographies had been made, some of the choice, at least, may have been influenced by the statues in the Forum. The weightiest argument seems to me again the fact that the end of the series coincides with the end of the Republic, a far from self-evident fact, even though it probably saved the work from oblivion by making it part of the so-called *historia tripartita*. Though this little work is an attempt at Roman history in the form of a biographical series, the inspiration, and the long series of men from the political and military sphere, again inevitably recall the most easily accessible *lieu de mémoire* in Rome. That this was not necessarily the only way to look at the sights can be seen from the example of Ammianus Marcellinus, most probably a near-contemporary of the author of *dvi*, who in his celebrated description of the city[107] completely ignores the *Forum Augustum*, even though he mentions the *Templum Pacis* and reserves his greatest admiration for the adjacent Forum of Trajan and for that Emperor's equestrian statue there. Of course, Trajan's Forum was intended to outshine that of Augustus, and Ammianus Marcellinus is just one witness to its success. Another contemporary, the author of the *Historia Augusta*, did notice the statues in the *Forum Augustum*, and was well aware of the fact that those erected by Augustus himself were of marble.[108] Yet another contemporary, the learned commentator of Virgil, could describe a painting in the Forum exactly[109]—he was no doubt aware of the statuary as well. These of course are only random notices,[110] morsels left from the feast of the times. Yet, even if not by direct influence, Augustus' idea of establishing a National Hall of Fame in as conspicuous a location as possible has become a commonplace of our own world.

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[107] Amm. Marc. 16.10.13–17.

[108] *SHA Alex.* 28.6.

[109] Serv. *in Aen.* 1.294.

[110] The notice of another learned contemporary concerning the lengthy time it took to build the Forum (Macr. *sat.* 2.4.9) is not evidence for autopsy.

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